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FOREIGN NOTICES OF TAMIL CLASSICS

An Appraisal

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Tamil University
Thanjauvr

Foreign Notices of Tamil Classics
An Appraisal

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Foreword

Dr. M. Rajendran
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The World Classical Tamil Conference to be held at Kōvai on 23-27.6.2010 would really be a memorable event. On this momentous occasion, it is our duty to thankfully recall the indefatigable efforts of Dr. Kalignar M. Karunanidhi, Honourable Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, prompting the Government of India to officially declare *Tamil*, a *Classical Language*. Again, through his earnest endeavour the *Central Institute of Classical Tamil* has been established at Chennai. In continuation, his ambitious dream of conducting the International Conference-Seminar for *Classical Tamil* becomes a reality. To commemorate this historical event, Tamil University proposed to bring out useful and valuable research publications on our Culture and Literature. In the series of the World Classical Tamil Conference Special Publication, the present book *Foreign Notices of Tamil Classics – An Appraisal* merits special mention.

Professor *George Hart*, one of the reputed Tamilologists hailing from U.S.A. expressed through E.mail on April, 22 the biggest challenge to Classical Tamil due to the publication of Herman Tieken's *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam Poetry* (2001) and Sheldon Pollok's *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2009). These two foreign scholars questioned the unique status and antiquity of Tamil literature and

opined that the *Caṅkam* poetry belonged to 800-900 A.D. *Pollock* concluded that Tolkāppiyam was a product of 10th or 11th century A.D. One should not get provoked on going through these books which did not project the real picture of our literature. It is our bounden duty to refute them on unassailable grounds enabling them to realise and revise their views.

Among the two books, the first one i.e. *Kāvya in South India* was critically examined and carefully evaluated by Professor *S.N. Kandaswamy* and his review was published in the *Journal of Tamil Studies* of the *International Institute of Tamil Studies* in 2002. So far no response was received from *Herman Tieken*. Again, the second book also came out recently by an author of the same school of thought.

In order to dispel their discursive views we requested Professor *S.N. Kandaswamy*, an eminent scholar in Tamil literature, grammar, linguistics, history and philosophy with sound scholarship in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit, to make an exhaustive study on the subject. It gives me much pleasure to go through his scholarly book in which he has carefully and properly identified and analysed the problematic issues, raised by *Herman Tieken* and *Sheldon Pollock* and advanced his arguments with solid and valid evidences against their fallacious views. He has very well established the antiquity of Tolkāppiyam which in all probability preceded in chronology the existing Caṅkam anthologies. He has also elucidated the unique features of Caṅkam classics, earmarking the significant differences between Tamil

and Sanskrit with regard to their poetics, rhetorics and prosody. He explicated that the two languages belonged to two different cultural traditions and the commonness, if any, noticed in them may be attributed to the common stock of Indian tradition.

This book bears ample testimony to the author's keen insight, critical acumen, amazing skill in accomodating all the relevant data under appropriate captains, delightful discussion, historical sense and above all easy and effective communication. His controlled expression even in refuting the views of others is significant. I am happy to introduce the book to the scholarly world. Professor *S.N. Kandaswamy* richly deservers our appreciation for bringing out this valuable book within the short span of time.

23.05.2010

Thanjavur 613 010

M. Rajendran,

Vice Chancellor.

Preface

On the memorable occasion of the World Classical Tamil Conference, the Tamils are beholden to the renowned global Tamilologists Joseph Beschi, F.W. Ellis, Robert Caldwell, G.U. Pope, Albert Schweitzer, A.L. Basham, J.R. Marr, Kamil V. Zvelebil, G.L. Hart, Jean Filliozat, Thomas Lehmann, M.S. Andronov, A.M. Dubiansky, Susumu Ohno and a host of others who have rendered yeoman service to the dissemination of Tamil Language and Literature far and wide through their remarkable studies, translations and linguistic research. They have voiced for the classical status of Tamil and established beyond the pale of controversy that without tapping the rich materials, embalmed in the Tamil Classics, a comprehensive study of Indian Cultural History would be definitely incomplete. Even among the Indian polyglots, Dr.Sunitikumar Chatterjee, the reputed Bengali National Professor, held high regard for Tamil and rendered his name into pure Tamil நன்னெறி முருகன் (சுநீதி - நன்னெறி, குமார் - குமாரன், முருகன்) which he wrote himself in the visitor's book in the office of *Centamiḻ-c-Celvi*, a classical monthly, run by the Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Works, Chennai, in the early fifties of last century. In his estimate, the contribution of Tamil to the Composite Indian Culture was more than fifty percent. Be that as it may.

Recently two western Professors *Herman Tieken* and *Sheldon Pollock* have respectively published *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Poetry* (2001) and

The Language of the Gods in the World of Man (2009) which contained many ambiguous, unauthentic and objectionable issues. It seems that these scholars did not get proper orientation in the Tamil Classics and also they were misguided by some prejudiced native scholars with regard to the age of Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkam classics. Hence, it was felt essential to review their views in the light of valid evidences so that the factual errors, noticed in their books, may be eradicated.

This book contains four articles out of which the first two are appraisals of the aforesaid two books. In the next article an elaborate study has been made from different points of view to establish the age of Tolkāppiyam. The subsequent article highlights the significant and salient features of *Caṅkam Classics,* the original products of the creative genius of the Tamils.

The author does not find adequate words to express his heartfelt thanks to **Kalaigñar Dr.M.Karunanidhi,** the **Honourable Chief Minister of Tamilnadu** who is the dynamic source and force for the official declaration of *Tamil, a Classical Language,* the establishment of *Central Institute of Classical Tamil* at Chennai and the *World Classical Tamil Conference* to be held at Kōvai during 23 to 27.6.2010.

He expresses his sincere thanks to **Dr.M.Rajendran, the Vice-Chancellor of Tamil University** for his interest and involvement which stimulated him to embark on this venture. His thanks are also due to **Dr.V.Jayadevan,** Emeritus Professor,

University of Madras, Chennai, **Professor K.Ramasamy**, Officer in charge, Central Institute of Classical Tamil, Chennai and **Dr.S.S.Ramar Ilango**, Director, Centre of Bharathidasan Studies, Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirapalli for their sustained support to his research. He is immensely thankful to **Dr.S.Revathy**, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Chennai, for providing him with some rare books on Sanskrit Classics. The publisher merits all appreciation for the excellent execution of the book.

23.05.2010

Thanjavur - 613 007 *S.N. Kandaswamy*

ABBREVIATIONS

Ainkuṟu	Aiṅkuṟunūṟu
Akam	Akanāṉūṟu
Ciṟupāṇ	Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai
Col	Collatikāram
Eḻuttu	Eḻuttatikāram
Kali	Kalittokai
Kuṟaḷ	Tirukkuṟaḷ
Kuṟiñci	Kuṟiñci-p-pāṭṭu
Kuṟu, Kuṟun	Kuṟuntokai
Malai	Malaipaṭukaṭām
Maturai	Maturaikkāñci
Mullai	Mullai-p-pāṭṭu
Naṟ	Naṟṟiṇai
Neṭu, Neṭunal	Neṭunalvāṭai
N.S.	Nāṭya Sāstra
P	Predicate
Paṭṭi, Pat	Pattiṉappālai
Pari	Paripāṭal
Patiṟ, Patiṟṟu	Patiṟṟu-p-pattu
Perumpāṇ	Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai
Poruḷ	Poruḷatikāram
Puṟam	Puṟanāṉūṟu
Puṟat	Puṟattiṇai-y-iyal
S	Subject
SKT	Sanskrit
Tirumuruku	Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai
Tol	Tolkāppiyam, Tolkāppiyar
Vol	Volume

1. An Appraisal of Kāvya in South India: Old Caṅkam Poetry

Introduction

The book, **Kāvya in South India: Old Caṅkam poetry** was written by **Herman Tieken**, a Dutch scholar. He studied Indology in Leiden from 1970 to 1975. From 1976 to 1984 he taught Sanskrit and Middle Indic at the Kern Institute of the University of London. From 1993 to the present, he again teaches Sanskrit and Middle Indic at the Kern Institute. Since 2005 he also teaches Modern and Classical Tamil. Nevertheless, it is not known where he studied Classical and Modern Tamil.

It is learnt that **Tieken** used to say before the Sanskrit students that Classical Tamil is superior to Sanskrit. Likewise when he met with the Tamil students, he was accustomed to extol Sanskrit Classics. His attitude is nothing new when one is conversant with the Tamil metaphysical poet Tāyumāṉavar [1750 A.D.] who uttered in the same vein long ago in one of his verses. The passage under reference is given here under.

"........................... வடமொழியிலே
வல்லான் ஒருத்தன் வரவும் திராவிடத்திலே
    வந்ததா விவகரிப்பேன்
வல்லதமிழ் அறிஞர்வரின் அங்ஙனே வடமொழியின்
    வசனங்கள் சிறிது புகல்வேன்
வெல்லாமல் எவரையும் மருட்டிவிட வகைதந்த
    வித்தையென் முத்தி தருமோ?"

The substance of the passage is provided here:

"If an expert in Sanskrit comes to me, I shall expatiate (in his very presence) that all ideas are enshrined in Tamil (Dravidian). Similarly, if an adept in Tamil meets me, I shall utter some Sanskrit quotations (vacanas) [just to mitigate his arrogance]. **Will this jugglery without really conquering anybody and frightening the so called scholars in Tamil and Sanskrit assure me salvation?"**.

Therefore, this is not the first time to see pseudo-scholars of the type, identified by Saint Tāyumāṉavar, a consummate poet, mystic and jivanmukta. With this background, let us enter into Herman Tieken's book *Kāvya in South India: Old Tamil Caṅkam poetry*, published by J. Gonda Foundation, The Netherlands in 2001.

Fact Vs Fictitious View

In this book, the author has made a vain attempt to interpret the age and society of Caṅkam Tamil Classics in an unprecedented manner, totally different from the views and conclusions of reputed western scholars like *J.R. Marr, J. Filliozat, F. Gros, George Hart, K.V. Zvelebil* and others on the one hand, and Indian scholars like *P.T.S. Ayyangar, V.R.R. Dikshitar, S.Vaiyapuri Pillai, T.P.M., A.K. Ramanujan* and others on the other. A thorough and impartial study of the book, under review indicates the fact that the author has not received proper orientation and adequate knowledge in the Indian literary traditions, which atleast belonged to two different linguistic and cultural groups, known as Dravidian and Aryan. Even after the gradual amalgamation of the two traditions, distinct individualistic and original aspects of each of them cannot be undermined, since their fusion is of the type of physical combination, rather than chemical combination.

In the first chapter, the author has made some introductory remarks. In the very beginning itself, the author exposes his folly by rendering Tolkāppiyam, as "Old Kāvya" [p.1. lines 4, 5]. It is not only literal but also non-sensical rendition. Tolkāppiyam, the title of the grammatical treatise derived the name from its author Tolkāppiyaṉ [vide, தொல்காப்பியன் எனத் தன்பெயர் தோற்றி- பனம்பாரனார் பாயிரம்]. Kāppiyar is the family title. In the epic Cilappatikāram "*Kāppiya-t-tol Kuṭi*"[30:83] is noted. Many poets of the Caṅkam period bear the names Kāppiyaṉ Cēntaṉār, Kāppiāṟṟu-k-kāppiyaṉār, Palkāppiyaṉār and others. There was one Tolkāpilar, different from Kapilar. So also, Tolkāppiyar should have been differentiated from other Kāppiyars by the prefix /tol/.

Purpose of the Book

The main purpose of writing this book is noted in the beginning of the second page. The first aim is given here in his own words:

"The primary aim of the present study is to show that Cankam literature has to be dated much later than has been done so far.

A close analysis of the literature suggests that it cannot be earlier than the end of the eight or the beginning of the ninth Century" [p.2. lines 2-5]

In page 216, the author has stated:

'Bhakti poetry .... cannot be much older than the ninth century' [lines 22-23]

Again in page 222, he has mentioned:

"Bhakti poetry indeed cannot have been much earlier than the ninth or tenth century" [lines 24-25]

By the term "Bhakti poetry" the author meant Tirumuṟais and Nālāyira-t-tivviya-p-pirapantam.

From the above statements, it is the author's opinion that Caṅkam poems and Bhakti poetry belonged more or less to the same period. Even Prof. S.Vaiyapuri Pillai would not agree to such a view, since it projects a serious blunder, revealing the author's ignorance and lack of historical sense. *One should bear in mind that the yawning gulf between the diction, style, language, rhythm, grammar, themes, poetics, metrics, rhetorics and other architectonical aspects of Caṅgam poems on the one hand and those of Bhakti pomes on the other, excludes totally the placement of the two different groups of literature in the same period. The historical elements including the names of the kings and chieflains, extolled in the Caṅkam poems and their counterparts, praised in the Bhakti poems clearly indicate the notable difference in the periods of their creation. Therefore, it is highly anachronistic to bring down the Caṅkam classics to the period of devotional literatures, which belonged to A.D. 500 to A.D. 1100, as accepted by the approved scholars in the field.*

The second aim of the author is given here below:

"The various genres of Caṅkam poetry are adaptations or elaborations in Tamil of particular genres of Sanskrit Kāvya literature . In fact, Caṅkam poetry is the outcome of the attempt to write Kāvya poetry in Tamil." [p.2. lines 8-11].

Native genres

Such statements produce laughter, in accordance with Tolkāppiyar's view that laughter has its origin in mockery, childishness, ignorance and credulity [Tol. Porul, 248]. In Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkam poems, manifold literary genres are found. "In the poetics of

Tolkāppiyam, about forty genres are noted. They are the following *1. Aṅkata-c-ceyyuḷ, 2. avaiyaṭakkiyal, 3. āṟṟuppaṭai, 4. iyalmoḻivāḻttu, 5. urai-c-ceyyuḷ, 6. ūrotu tōṟṟam, 7. ōmpaṭai, 8. kaṭainilai, 9. kaṭaikkuṭṭu nilai, 10. kaṇpaṭai nilai, 11. kantaḻi, 12. kalnaṭutal, 13. kaḷavaḻi, 14. kuṭaināṭkōḷ, 15. kuṭainilaḻ marapu, 16.kuravai-p-pāṭṭu, 17. kaikkiḷai, 18. kaiyaṟam, 19. koṭinilai, 20. koṟṟavainilai, 21. cevi-aṟivuṟuu, 22. cevi-y-uṟai-c-ceyyuḷ, 23. tāya paṉuval, 24. tuyileṭainilai, 25. paṇṇatti, 26. paripāṭal, 27. pici, 28. puṟanilai vāḻttu, 29. pūvainilai, 30. perumaṅkalam, 31. maṇṇumaṅkalam, 32. mantiram [tamiḻ], 33.mutumoḻi, 34.vaḷḷi, 35. vaḷḷai-pāṭṭu, 36. vāṇmaṅkalam, 37.vāyuṟaivāḻttu, 38.vāḻttuvakai, 39. vāḷnāṭkōḷ, 40. viḷakkunilai, 41. veṟiyāṭṭu, 42. vēḷvinilai, [vide, Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai edition of* ***Navanīta-p-pāṭṭiyal****, pp.119-120]. Even the eightfold literary beauties viz., ammai, aḻaku, toṉmai, tōl, viruntu, iyaipu, pulaṉ and iḻaipu [Tol. Poruḷ 536-543]are treated as literary genres.*

Can Herman Tieken find agreeable parallels to the aforesaid literary genres in Sanskrit literature of Tolkāppiyam period or any period? He has to bear in mind that the literary traditions of Tiṇai poetry of Akam genre with well-defined characters, situations, emotions, sentiments, expressions, embellishments and techniques as delineated in Tolkāppiyam and adopted in the Caṅkam Classics without much deviation are original and native. They were formulated not only from a close study of by-gone and contemporary works of Tol. period, but also from the observations and current practices of his own times, as noted in the prefatory prologue known as Pāyiram:

"Muntunūl kaṇṭu muṟaippaṭ eṇṇi"

"vaḻakkum ceyyuḷum āyiru mutaliṉ

eḻuttum collum poruḷum nāṭi"

It has been composed by Paṉampāraṉār, the author's class-mate. Similarly the literary conventions of Puṟam genre, especially embodying the details of ancient warfare, admiration to heroes, artisans, artists and others etc., are peculiar to the ancient Tamil tradition.

Literary terms and metres

The literary technical terms kuriñci, mullai, pālai, marutam, neytal, kaikkilai and peruntiṇai of Akam genre and veṭci, vañci, tumbai, uḻiñai, vākai, kāñci and pāṭāṇ of Puṟam genre are not found in any of the Sanskri, Pāli, Prājkrit Apabhramsa and other Indian literature, in which the author himself boasts to have erudition!

The meters *āciriyam, veṇpā, paripāṭal, kalippā* and *vañcip-pā* with their sub-members, as noted in Tolkāppiyam and practised by the Caṅkam poets are completely original, not to be traced in the literary works of any one of the aforesaid languages which the author claims to have mastered!

It is essential to note that though the term *antāti* is Sanskrit, it is not found in any of the languages of Sanskrit group. In Caṅkam poems, we have the early specimens of *antāti* genre. For instance, the fourth tens of *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* [31-40] are in the anaphoric genre, composed by *Kāppiyāṟṟu-k-kāppiyaṉar* in praise of Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Narmuṭi-c-Cēral. Similarly *Toṇṭi-p-pattu* in Ainkuṟunūru [poems 171-180] are in the same genre. Though this genre is not mentioned as Antāti in the Caṅkam period, the later poeticians named it so and it gained currency in the Bhakti literature. All the creations of Nammāḻvār are in this anaphoric form. It is a rare feat, unknown to Sanskrit, Apabhramsa or any other Prakrit which the author frequently mentions in this book.

Views of Reputed Scholars

The author has to take note of the views of the reputed Indologist and linguist **Dr.T. Burrow** who was the Sanskrit Professor of Oxford University and had identified hundreds of Dravidian words in the Rgveda itself. His observation deserves to be quoted.

> *"The Dravidian languages are the most important not only numerically and culturally, but also from the point of view of their influence on Sanskrit".*[1]
>
> *"The extent of Dravidian influence on Sanskrit has always been underestimated rather over estimated".*[2]

Another great Sanskrit scholar **A.B. Keith** ascertained;

> *"Kumarila was a native of South India, who reveals his knowledge of Dravidian language and recommends that borrowed words should be given Sanskrit terminations; he refers both to literature and to current practices and his ingenuity is very considerable".*[3]
>
> *"Kumarila [600 A.D.] permits the incorporations of Dravidian terms, provided that they are given Sanskrit terminations".*[4]
>
> "The ḷ [ள] which marks South Indian texts in lieu of the ḍ and l of the north is doubtless in part due to Dravidian influence".[5]
>
> "The retroflex lateral and vassal ḷ and ṇ are borrowed from Dravidian to Sanskrit".[6] – Ibid.

Mimāmsakesari V.A. Ramasamy Sastri of the Annamalai University in his scholarly introduction to the edition of Tattvabindu observed: *"Many scholars believe Kumārila was a Southerner in view of the fact that he has used in his Tantravārttika many Dravidian (-Tamil) words whose semantic relationship to Sanskrit words has been emphasized.*[7] From the above observations, it becomes evident that due to

the influence of Tamil, Sanskrit has adopted retroflex phonemes (ḷ and ṇ) and hence instead of pronouncing *Kālidāsa*, we pronounce *Kāḷidāsa*. Sten-konow also endorsed the same view in his *Linguistic Survey of India*.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Ex-President of India, the internationally reputed interpreter of the systems of Indian Philosophy and Culture and a multi-lingual, out of patient study, expressed the following conclusions:

> **"Contact with the highly civilized Dravidians led to the transformation of Vedism into a theistic religion."**[8] "Image worship which was a striking feature of the Dravidian faith was accepted by Aryans."[9]

While unveiling the statue of Tiruvaḷḷuvar at Mylapore, Chennai on June 1966, Dr. **S. Radhakrishnan**, in his memorable lecture, noted thus:

"Tivuvaḷḷuvar has spoken to us as a man who has spiritualized himself....It you remember his sayings and precepts and practise them, this country will be much greater than what it is today and you will be able to give something of value to other countries also. There is no doubt about it...People belonging to different religions had claimed in this work the echoes of the deepest faith of their religions."[10]

Dr. **M. Winternitz**, the German Indologist and celebrated author of the History of Indian Literature (in three volumes) extolled the greatness of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and his magnum opus Tirukkuṟaḷ in the following passage:"

"Tiruvaḷḷuvar's Kuṟaḷ, the 1330 short sentences (couplets) on the three aims of life – Ethics, Polity and Erotics, is one of the gems of World Literature..... He stands above all races, castes and sects and what he teaches is a general human morality and Wisdom. No wonder that the Tirukkuṟaḷ

has not become much read, studied and highly praised in the land of its origin for centuries, but has also found many admirers in the west, ever since it has become known."[11]

Another German Indologist **Dr. Karl Graul** who translated the Tirukkuṟaḷ in German in 1854 valued the text very much and expressed that *"no translation can convey an idea of its charming effect. It is truly an apple of gold in the network of silver."*[12]

In the past 400 years or so, hundreds of renditions of the Tirukkuṟaḷ, the finished product of Tamilian intellect, in more than hundred languages including Sanskrit, English, Dutch, Czech, French, German, Latin, Swedish, Russian and Chinese language, it is a pitty that Herman Tiekan did not go through the masterpiece of Tamil genius. It is hoped that a cursory glance of the couplets of Tirukkuṟal and Caṅkam poems would have made an indelible mark in his mind to evaluate the Tamil Classics in the proper way, gaining fresh knowledge and insight.

Taruna Vācaspati, the learned commentator of Dandin's Kāvyadarśa quoted the Caṅkam Tamil poems [-"Dramiḍa Saṅghata"] to illustrate the genre of anthology. Similarly, Dramiḷa Vātsyāyana (A.D.450] revealed his knowledge of Puṟanāṉūṟu, in his elaborate commentary on Akṣapāda's Nyāya Sūtra.[13]

There are many more valid evidences to establish the impact of Tamil on Sanskrit and other related Indian languages. For want of space they are not presented here.[14]

It is needless to say that the Herman Tiekan's attempt to read the influence of Gītagovinda, indited by Jayadeva [A.D. 900] in the Caṅkam literature Kalittokai 55, is funny and frivolous [vide p.167 of his book].

Both Herman Tiekan and Sheldon Pollock turn a deaf ear to the views of internationally reputed scholars who explicated and expounded the unique status of Tamil language and literature. These two seem to be reluctant to go through the serous studies on the salient features of Tamil classics, carried out both by the native and foreign scholars. Let us quote a few passages from the specialists' observations, which I hope, would open the closed eyes of these two authors.

The view of Civajñana Muṉivar

It is essential to note that even before the advent of Dr. Robert Caldwell, native scholars with erudition in Sanskrit discriminated the unique features of Tamil, independent of Sanskrit. Civajñāṉa Muṉivar of 18th century A.D. who was the official interpreter of Saiva Siddhānta philosophy which in the words of G.U. Pope was the choicest present of the Tamilian intellect, underscored the special aspects of Tamil, in his elaborate commentary on the Pāyiram (-Prologue) of Tolkāppiyam.[15] Its substance is given here below.

The morpho-phonemic rules, the technical terms, the implied verb, verb compound and other grammatical categories, the classification of words into rational category (-uyartiṇai) and non-rational category (-akṟiṇai), the classification of literary themes into Akam (love) and Puṟam (warfare and related themes), the behavioural divisions such as Kuṟiñci (union of lovers) and Veṭci (cattle lifting) and their related aspects, the prosody of Veṇpā and other metres- these and other related features are not found in Sanskrit".

It is better that the two western authors under reference should devote time to look into the scholarly views of Civajñāna Muṉivar.

The views of some Foreign scholars

Among the reputed Tamilologists with multi-lingual erudition who voiced for the Classical status of Tamil through their impartial research, let us first quote **Kamil V. Zvelebil.**

"............. *those of 26,350 lines of (Sangam) poetry promote Tamil to the rank of one of the great Classical languages of the world...* it is only the Tamil Culture that has produced uniquely so in India - an independent, indigenous literary theory of a very high standard including metrics and prosody, poetics and rhetoric.

Sangam poetry is the expression of a linguistic, prosodic and stylistic perfection; it is a finished, consummate and inimitable literary expression of an entire culture, and of the best in that culture, In this sense, it is truly a Classical product, a Classical literature."[16]

A.K. Ramanujan, another scholar of global reputation and erudition in Tamil, Kannada, Sanskrit and English, endorsed the above view and further added that among the two Classical languages of India, Sanskrit is not in current usage while Tamil continues its existence with a Classical past.[17]

Apart form the views of the aforesaid scholars, the historians and archeologists established the fact that the Indus-Valley Civilization is Pre-Aryan and Proto-Tamilan indicating that the language of the Indus people was Proto-Tamil, the ancient form of Classical Tamil. The influence of Tamil on the Vedic Sanskrit was identified by Dr.M.B. Emeneau and Dr.T. Burrow. *Kātyāyana and Patanjali, the great commentators on the Aṣṭādhyāyi of Pāṇiṇi exhibited their acquaintance with Tamil while explaining some grammatical rules. The presence of Tamil*

words in Sanskrit, Greek, Hebrew, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Malay and other global languages has been proved beyond doubt by the specialists. The cultural and commercial commingling of the Tamils with the West and East was established through the numismatic, epigraphical and literary evidences.[18]

Since Herman Tiekan's book under review presents a blurred ad distorted picture of Indian literary traditions indicating not only the author's shallowness but also his prejudice, bias and lack of balanced judgement with regard to Tamil classics, *it does not deserve even for condemnation.*

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2. An appraisal of The Language of the Gods in the World of Men

Introduction

Sheldon Pollock, the author of the book which was published by Orient Blackswan Private Limited, New Delhi in 2009, is Professor of Sanskrit and South Indian Studies at Columbia University, U.S.A. There is no mention in this book about his qualification in the Tamil Classics. Mainly the author deals with Sanskrit, Culture and Power in Premodern India. As a result of his lectures on the subject under reference, delivered by the author at the University of Chicago and other centres, the book attained its concrete shape. Because of his association with T.V. Venkatachala Sastri, Emeritus Professor of the Institute of Kannada studies in the University of Mysore, the author gathered working knowledge in Kannada language. It seems that his knowledge in Tamil was derived from secondary sources. He exhibits more acquaintance in Kannada than in Tamil.

Divinity of Language

The title of the book itself suggests that he believes in the divinity of Sanskrit in the world of human beings. *Deva Bhāṣa* was an attribute to Sanskrit and *"the language of the gods"* seems to be a literal translation of the attribute. It is the general opinion of many Westerners to adore Sanskrit to the maximum, neglecting the due merit of other Indian languages including Tamil which is also hailed *teyva-t-tamiḻ,* meaning Divine Tamiḻ. Tiruvāḷḷuvar is praised *'teyva-p-pulavar'*, the Divine Poet. Such facts are normally not known to the author of this book and also to others of his type, who used to look into the classics of Tamil and literary works of other languages only through the lens of Sanskrit.

The author gives much importance to Sanskrit in this book which comprises 14 chapters dealing with many aspects of the literary and cosmopolitan usage of the divine language, the cultural and political practice, besides underscoring the influence of Sanskrit in the regional languages of India which include the Prakrit and also modern spoken dialects. **He named the Indo-Aryan, the Sanskrit - near and the Dravidian, the Sanskrit distant** (p.443). His view, that "Germanic Europe and Dravidian India may be contrasted with Romance Europe and Indo-Aryan" deserves mention (p.472). However his view, that Tamil and Kannada had developed fully outfitted vernacular literary cultures by the end of the ninth century A.D. deserves to be revised. His statement may be applicable to Kannada and not to Tamil. Even before ninth century A.D. Tamil had developed rich and varied literary creations which included Tolkāppiyam, Caṅkam anthologies, the Eighteen works, the Twin epics, the devotional lyrics of *Tirumuṟai* and *Nālāyiram* etc. which belonged to 500 B.C. to 900 A.D. The literary activity prosperously continued even after 900 A.D upto modern period.

Dandin and Tamilnadu

He traces the influence of Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa* [690 A.D] on the Kannada *Kavirajmārga* (875 A.D.), Tamil *Taṇṭi-y-alaṅkāram* (1150 A.D.), Sangharakṣita's Pàli Subodhālaṅkāra of Srilanka and the adaptations in other Indian languages (p.163).

It has been the view of approved scholars that Daṇdi, the author of *Kāvyādarśa* was the court poet of Rajasimha Pallava (690 A.D.) the great builder of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcipuram. This Pallava was a staunch devotee of Lord Śiva and was reckoned one among the 63 Nāyanmārs by the Śiva apostle Sundarar.

Taruṇavāchaspati in his commentary of the text explicates that the great city Kāñci and its ruler the Pallava are referred (III 114). In the 165th śloka of third Pariccheda, Dandin described the Pāṇḍya's Malaya Hills (Potiyam) where due to the abundance of camphor trees the breeze wafted fragrance. In the 166th śloka of the same division, he depicts the natural beauty of the Cōḻa deśa. To illustrate the *dēśa virōdhini,* he presents a simile. *Dēśa virōdhini* indicates a rhetorical fallacy of stating an object which has no concomitance with the place. The statement, "In the Kāvēri delta of the Cōḻa the sandal woods found in abundance" is a case of *dēśa virōdhin.* The sandal wood is always associated with the Potiya Hills of Pāṇḍiyadēśa. In the 13th śloka of the first Pariccheda, he has classified the varieties of poetry into four groups viz., *muktaka, kulaka, kośa* and *sanghāta, Muktaka* is a single poem, finite by itself. Kulaka denotes a group of two or more poems forming a single sentence. Kośa consists of different stories of heterogeneous themes. The genre *Sanghāta* denotes an anthology of poems. Taruṇavāchaspati presents the *Dramiḍa Sanghāta* to illustrate the Sanghāta type. According to S. Kuppuswamy Sastri, the *Dramiḍa Sanghāta* meant the Sangam anthology. Thus, it is suggested that the Sangam literature received sufficient attention in the Sanskrit circle.

The name Dandin recalls one Taṇṭi, one of the 63 Nāyanmārs enumerated in the Tiru-toṇṭa-t-tokai of Sundarar, a contemporary of Rajasimha Pallava. Most of the pictorial poems for which Dandin gave elaborate rules in the third pariccheda of Kāvyādarśa are found in the devotional lyrics of Tiruñāṉasambandhar who lived in the early part of the 7th century A.D. Some instances may be given.

The pictorial poems of the Tamil hymns such as *Āvi<u>n</u> pāyccal*, *Cu<u>l</u>ikuḷam*, *Mālaimā<u>r</u><u>r</u>u* and *Ēkapātam* have their respective counterparts in the *Gomūtrikā*, *Ardha bhrma*, *Pratiloma yamaka* and *Mahāyamaka* of the *Kāvyādarśa*. E<u>l</u>ukū<u>r</u><u>r</u>irukkai stands comparison with the Sanskrit pictorial poetry Rata bandha. Since Cēkki<u>l</u>ār (1150 A.D.), the hagiographer of Tiruñā<u>n</u>asambandhar named the latter's Citrakavi, i.e., pictorial poetry as Mūla ilakkiyam which means original literature, the hypothesis that the Tamil hymns should have been in the mind of Dandin while writing the rules, governing their structural in the third pariccheda of his rhetorical treatise, holds good.[1]

His conclusion that the culturally central Tamil texts such as the Tirukku<u>r</u>aḷ were annotated by the commentators through Sanskrit rhetorical categories (p.384) seems to be fictitious. He did not substantiate his stand. It is to be borne in mind that the commentarial tradition in Tamil had a long history with native methodology to elucidate the contents of classical texts such as the Tolkāppiyam and the Tirukku<u>r</u>aḷ.

Historicity of Caṅkam

He quotes K. Sivathamby for the legendary character of Caṅkam (p.384). Even before him, K.N. Sivaraja Pillai and P.T. Srinivasa Aiyangar held such view. It is the considered opinion of many scholars that the commentary of *I<u>r</u>aiya<u>n</u>ār Akapporuḷ* coloured the historical Caṅkam with some mythical character in order to add divinity to Tamil, when Sanskrit was hailed as a divine language. The historicity of Caṅkam has been established by many scholars on the strength of both internal and external sources.

Only one evidence is presented here to authenticate the historicity of Caṅkam, the academy of poets. Pāṇṭiyan

Neṭuñceḻiyan, who conquered his enemies at Talai-y-ālaṅkāṉam, was also a good poet. He is identified with the king of the same name of Māṅkuḷam Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, which belonged to 200 B.C. according to the epigraphist Iravatam Mahadevan[2]. Though the king was indomitable and valorous, he always cherished the company of renowned poets, headed by the celebrated poet *Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉ* with erudition, as noted in his poem [Puṟam 72.13-16].

Māṅkuṭi Marutaṉār was the court poet of the Pāṇṭiya king Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ and extolled his achievements and glory of his country in the *Maturai-k-kāñci* with 782 metrical lines, being the biggest poem with epic grandeur in the entire corpus of Caṅkam Classics. It is essential to note that the opening portion of this immortal poem commences the panegyric poem of the historical *Talavāypuram Copper plate* running 240 lines of *Parāntaka Virapāṇṭiya* who reigned during 859 A.D. to 907 A.D. at Maturai, the Citadel of Pandyan kingdom. Caṅkam poems were preserved in tradition and epigraphs of medieval period. Thus the existence of an academy of poets and bards during the Caṅkam period is vindicated by the internal evidence of Puṟanāṉūṟu and the external evidence of Talavāypuram Copper-plate. Even Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai accepted the historicity of third Caṅkam.

Religion of the Epics

His statement, 'Whatever the place of Buddhism in Tamil literary texts like the Cilappatikāram' (p.429) deserves modification. Instead of Cilappatikāram, which was predominantly Jainistic, the author should have mentioned Maṇimēkalai which is a Buddhist epic. His observation, that Kannada, Telugu or Malayalam as evolving out of 'proto-Dravidian' as best attested in the

Caṅkam literature of Old Tamil' (p.500) deserves special mention.

Age of Tolkāppiyam

However, his statement, that the Tolkāppiyam should be placed a few centuries before the appearance of its first commentaries, is based on B.G.L. Swamy's paper,[3] 'The Date of Tolkāppiyam a Retrospect' does not hold good. B.G.L. Swamy, who was fundamentally a Professor of Biology commenced his paper with a list of views of different scholars on the Date of Tolkāppiyam, ranging from 8000 B.C. to 800 A.D. He opined that the text was not ancient, since the commentaries on the text were available only from 13th century A.D. (p.295). His view is against the historical, social, cultural, literary and linguistic facts. Further, he mentioned that Iḷampūraṇar and Pērācuṇyar lived in the 13th country A.D. (p.304).The literary historians proved beyond doubt that the two respectively lived in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. Similarly, his conclusion, that Naccinārkkiṉiyar belonged to 16th century A.D. (p.304) is baseless . According to many scholars including M. Arunachalam, he lived in the 15th century A.D.

B.G.L. Swamy stated that Tolkāppiyam flowered during the beginnings of the medieval period (p.314). In the next page, he speaks thus: "The fact that five of its commentaries appeared in the 13th century A.D. alone suggests that the treatise could have been written a century or two earlier"[4].

It is to be borne in mind that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's commentary is one of the five, mentioned by B.G.L. Swamy and hence according to him it belonged to the 13th century A.D. However, in page 304 he wrote that Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar lived in 16th century A.D. It shows that

he is not serious about his views and his contradictory statements are the result of his inadequate knowledge in the subject.

It is pertinent to note that Iḷampūraṇar refers in a general way in the course of his commentary, his predecessors who wrote commentaries on Tolkāppiyam, though they were not preserved. Hence, it becomes clear that Tolkāppiyam and its earliest commentaries were in vogue long time before 11th century A.D.

It is really a wonder that, according to B.G.L. Swamy the Tolkāppiyam was written during 11th or 12th centuries A.D. when Viracōḻiyam was composed by Buddhamittiraṉār, the contemporary of Virarajendra Cola [1063 A.D-1070 A.D]. No scholar, other than B.G.L. Swamy, was dared to drag it down to the period of the Imperial Colas. He places his conclusion on baseless grounds. His argument is untenable since he has completely neglected the vital evidences, establishing the Pre-Christian Era to be the age of Tolkāppiyam.

It is a known fact that the grammatical, poetical and rhetorical rules, enunciated in Tolkāppiyam have sufficiently undergone changes through the ages ever since its inception and the rules, prescribed in the treatise Vīracōḻiyam of 11th century differed widely from Tolkāppiyam throwing much light on phylogenetic changes, noticed in the medieval literary works, produced long after Tolkāppiyam.

The author of the metrical lexicon Tivākaram (800 A.D.) profusely quoted the aphorisms of Tolkāppiyam in the course of his text. Similarly the authors of Iṟaiyaṉar Akapporuḷ [650 A.D.], *Nampi Akapporuḷ* [1190 A.D.], Puṟapporuḷ Veṇpāmālaī [850 A.D], Yāpparuṅkalam [1070 A.D.] and Yāpparuṅkalak–k-kārikai [1070 A.D.]

revealed their indebtedness to Tolkāppiyam in one way or other. Neminātam, a product of 12th century A.D. closely followed the structural pattern of Tolkāppiyam. Even Vīracōḻiyam is indebted to Tolkāppiyam as far as the section of Poruḷ Paṭalam is concerned.

B.G.L. Swamy's conclusion that since the commentaries on Tolkāppiyam belonged to 12th to 13th century, A.D. the text was written in the 11th century is unreasonable and untenable. The ancient anonymous commentators of Puṟanāṉūṟu, Patiṟṟuppattu, Ainkuṟunūṟu and Akanāṉūṟu belonged to 12th to 14th century A.D. On this count, nobody dragged these ancient classics to a later period, say, 11th century A.D.

Even in the Sanskrit literary tradition, the yawning gulf between the periods of the author of a text and its commentator is noticed. For instance *Jaimini*, the author of Mimāmsa Sūtra lived in 400 B.C.[5] However, the commentators of this text Kumārila Bhatta and his disciple Prabhākaramiśra lived during 600-700 A.D.[6]

According to the Sanskrit scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswamy Sastri, Kaṇāda, the author of *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* lived in the fourth century B.C.[7] However *Prasastapāda*, who wrote commentary on the text, popularly known as *Padārtha dharma samgraha*, lived in the fifth century A.D.[8]

Bharata's Nāṭya Sāstra[9] has been assigned to 300 B.C. Its earliest known commentary, *Abhinavabhārati* was written by Abhinavagupta[10] who lived in the eleventh century A.D. Kālidāsa, the greatest among the Sanskrit poets lived in the golden age of the Guptas [400 A.D.].[11] His kāvyas Kumārasambhava, Raghuvasma and Sākuntala were commented by Mallinatha who lived in 1500 A.D.[12]

One may quote many more examples revealing the vast difference in the period of the author of a text and its commentator. Nevertheless, **no Sanskrit scholar so far came forward to place the author of the original text to the proximate period of the commentator.**

Therefore, B.G.L. Sawmy's conclusion on the age of Tolkāppiyam becomes fallacious. In order to dispel the dismal view of some of the foreign Indologists like *Herman Tieken* and *Sheldon Pollock*, and the distorted views of some native researchers like B.G.L. Swamy, a separate chapter on the age of Tolkāppiyam is included in this book. With a view to projecting the salient features of Caṅkam Classics including Tirukkuṟaḷ, a separate article is also added.

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3. The Age of Tolkāppiyam

1. Introduction

Among the ancient Tamil works of Caṅkam period, *Tolkāppiyam* is generally admitted to be the seniormost available treatise, dealing descriptively with phonology, morpho - phonemics, morphology and syntax which focus on the structure of the Tamil language, and also discusses in detail the literary concepts of subjective and objective themes known as *akam* and *puram*, rhetorics, canons of versification etc., which generate a beacon of light especially on the literary - cum - social history of the ancient Tamils. It is just to regard the whole work as encyclopaedic in character, since it throws a flood of light on grammar, poetics, polity, warfare, culture, socioethics, erotics, biology, astronomy, religion, philosophy and the like. The life and times of the author of such a great and immortal masterpiece are often qunsettled, as the treatise poses many problems of interpolations, additions, deletions, readings etc., to the researchers who have never converged in their opinion instead they stoutly claimed their individual findings to be conclusive and genuine.

Hence, the necessity arises to revise their theories and to re-examine the possibility of finding out the historicity and plausible chronology of the author based on some fresh materials hitherto unnoticed or not fully analysed by the bygone researchers.

2. Traditional View

At the outset, we have to record that there are two extreme views, one of which pushes forth *Tolkāppiyam* to 5000 B.C.or even before, mainly basing on the strength

of the fabulous account found in the commentary of Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal, while the other drags it down to 500 A.D. chiefly claiming the influence of some Sanskrit works of a later period on some of the portions of Tolkappiyam. The yawning gulf between the two views of the Indian minds reveals the fact that in the name of research, the people tolerated anything that can be stated without any reservation, without a sense of justification and without a proper scientific spirit. It is deplorable to notice the fanatic and fantastic notions reigned over the realm of research.

Let us give due reverence and importance to the traditions and myths in the pursuit of truth, but we are not prepared to admit and accept them in toto, without making a thorough enquiry separating the grain of fact from the chaff of fables. It is always sick with some scholars who often hasten to conclude the common aspects found the two great Indian languages viz., Tamil and Sanskrit to exclusively belong to the latter. Borrowings are to be accepted with some boundary, but it is unjust and improper to agree with the view that it should have always been an one-way traffic. Hence, subscribing to the views of extremists is neither backward nor forward but actually awkward.

3. The Prelude – What does it convey?

Tolkāppiyam has a prelude or prologue called *Pāyiram* which runs in the name of *Panampāraṉ*, who is considered by tradition preserved in the commentary of Tolkāppiyam to be a classmate of the author of *Tolkāpiyam*. In *Kuṟuntokai*, one of the Eight anthologies of Cankam epoch, a poem has the authoriship of *Paṉampāraṉ*.[1] In the name of this author a grammatical work, *Paṉampāram* by name is also understood through the commentary of *Naṉṉūl* (13th century A.D.) by

Mayilainātar.[2] But it is not preserved and is one among the various well known works that disappeared due to the carelessness of the people. Anyhow, it is possible to suggest that the *Pāyiram* of *Tolkāppiyam* should belong to an early period in which the Caṅkam anthology *Kuṟuntokai* was composed. The similarity of the language of the *Pāyiram* and *Tolkāppiyam* speaks to their contemporary nature.

The prelude furnishes the biography of the author in a nutshell form, clearly indicating *Tolkāppiyar's* deep and wide scholarship in various disciplines and his endless endeavour of collecting and selecting the materials of both ancient and recent times in literary usages and current dialects of the Tamil country bordered between the *Vēṅkaṭa* Hills in the North and the *Kumari* Hills in the South (the remaining two sides surrounded by the seas). It further extols his erudition in the Aindra school of Sanskrit Grammar (this school is generally suppcsed to be pre-Pāninīan), and his spiritual attainments contributing to his many sided greatness. It exhibits the truth that the word *Tolkāppiyaṉ* denotes both the author and his treatise.

According to a legend narrated by the learned commentator *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar*, a versatile genius in the *Caṅkam* lore, it is inferred that the preceptor *Akattiyar* and the disciple *Tolkāppiyar* were at sixes and sevens.[3] In order to avench his personal grievances the former instigated one of his dear and near students, *Ataṅkōṭṭācāṉ* by name to play the role of a stumbling block by raising crucial and critical questions and stirring creative problems to censor and chekup the approval of the august assembly of the learned academicians, while *Tolkāppiyar* staged his magnum opus, the monumental and marvellous grammatical work to win their

acceptance. It is said that the adepts assembled in the debating auditorium were patronized by the Pandya monarch, *Nilantarutiruvirpāṇtiyaṉ* also known as *Mākīrtti* as noticed in the commentary of Tolkāpiyya-p-pāyiram. It is crystal clear from the passage of the prelude that *Tolkāppiyar* smashed down diligently the riddles and squabbles put forth by *Ataṅkōttācān* (vide, 'ataṅkōṭṭācāṟku ariltapa-t-terinu) and surmounted the hurdles, ultimately commanding their respect and unanimous approval, and perhaps for this reason his treatise possessing the intellectual vigour and vitality withstood the ravages of time, and hence suggesting that his preceptor's grammatical work run in the name of *Akattiyam* should have dwindled into oblivion.

4. The gap between the Text and its Commentaries

It is also probable that the envious and competitive spirit evinced by the two great schools of grammarians terminated in the complete disappearance of the one, and continued negligence of the other upto some point of time. At one stage, the instructors well versed in the traditions of *Tol* grammar (especially the third part of the work, *Poruḷatikāram*) were not available and so, the necessity of the composition of *Irayaṉār Kāḷaviyal* arose, as per the account found in the commentary of the latter.[4] It is an avowed fact that the ancient commentator of *Tolkāppiyam, Iḷampūraṇar* was separated by many centuries from the author. Tol prescribes the various ways and methods of writing commentaries and perhaps the very ancient commentaries on Tol following the principles found in it should have existed at least in oral tradition among the teachers and the taught, and Iḷampūraṇar (11th Century A.D.) most probably represents the early oral transmission of *Tolkāppiyam* lore. However the wide gap, between the periods of the

author and the commentators who never hesitated to read their own views in the text and attempted to get sanction for the later usages from Tol, is held responsible for the obscurity and ambiguity in elucidating and interpreting the actual contents of the aphorisms. Nevertheless, one can not belittle the significance and substantial contributions of the commentators *Iḷampūranar*, *Cēṉāvaraiyar*, *Teyvaccilaiyār*, *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* and others in the enrichment and elaboration of the knowledge of *Tolkāppiyam*. Their commentaries function as telescope to get a closer vision of the ancient text. Their intimate and discriminating knowledge in *Tolkāppiyam* and Caṅkam classics enabled them effectively to conduct a comparative study of the language, literary usages and theories, modes of life etc., thus providing with sufficient and efficient materials to propose the relative antiquity of these works.

The present study on the historical perspective of *Tolkāppiyam* is mainly based on some linguistic observations, the rhetorical and prosodial features, religious cum philosophical elements etc., as contemplated in the text and conceived in the writings anterior and positerior to *Tolkāppiyam* both in Tamil and Sanskrit, considering the probability of identifying the contemporary ones. The study from the various standpoints aims at arriving at an acceptable conclusion as to the age of *Tolkāppiyam*. Let us consider the source materials one by one.

5. Tolkāppiyam and Tamil Brahmi Epigraphs

The earliest extant Tamil written records are the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions found in the Southern districts of Tamilnadu and they are unanimously considered by the eminent epigraphists to belong to a period 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. The epigraphs pertaining to

a later period are not treated here for a comparative study. A comparative analysis of the language of the said inscriptions and *Tolkāppiyam* is highly useful to understand the linguistic innovations and alterations, marking distinctly the intervals in the historical march of the language.

5.1. Initial palatals

In the entire corpus of the Tamil-Brahmi insciptions about 75 lexical items are identified, and hence they can not be taken as a minimal representative of the early Tamil Vocabulary. Since they are Buddhistic and Jainistic in character, the impact of Pāli and Prakrit are to be noticed in them. Yet, they possess interesting native words sufficiently.

The noteworthy feature of them is gleaned in the occurrence of the palatals *ca, cai* and *ya* in the initial position as against the prescription in *Tolkāppiyam*. According to Dr.T.V.Mahalingam, *Caḻiyaṉ, Carikaṉ, Cantaritan, Cattaṉ, Yakkuvaṉ, Yakkacitti* (a female ascetic) etc., are denoting some persons of the laity and monastic order. Airāvatam Mahadevan, the well known exponent of the above mentioned epigraphs furnishes some more words such as Caṭikaṉ, Cam, Cantantai, Cayaṉ, Caiyaḷaṉ etc., [Vide, his paper on *Historical Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions*]. This picture of the Tamil language resembles the one of the *Cankam* poetry which provides the researcher with copious examples of the initial occurrence of *c, cai* and *ya*.

Tolkāppiyam [Eḻuttu. 65] deliberately stated that /y/ would occur only with /ā/ in the initial position, and he himself employed such words as Yānai, Yāṉ, Yāṇṭu, Yā, Yāvai etc., and nowhere the loss of /y/ is found in the entire language of *Tolkāppiyan* as against the lexical items in the Cańkam anthology that possess

forms deprived of initial /y/ such as āṭu āṟu, ār, āttirai etc.[5] Tol [Eḻttu. 64] prescribes the initial occurrence of ñ with ā, e, and o only, as opposed to the innovations taken in the language of *Cankam* classics illustrating the occurrence of initial ña and ñi too.

5.2. Sound Change

Some scholars are of the opinion that the word *tēyam* is the Tamilised form of Sanskrit *deśa*. It seems that the word is derived from the root/tē/, a locative case-sign found in Tol. *Collatikāram* [82]. From this *tē*, the elongated form *teem* should have emerged out. Medial -ē- underwent a sound change i.e., e → y. (It is heartening to suggest that yāḻ should have come out from ēḻ, since the Tamil musical instrument was meant to play the sevenfold melodies). Elsewhere Tol mentions that /y/ becomes /e/ as in *yām* → em, yāṉ →en[6]. Anyhow, one of the two kinds of sound change i.e., e→y and y→e may be due to hyperurbanisation. In the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions, we have the word Yāṟṟūr occurring twice, and the initial loss of /y/ is wanting. This tendency exhibits their close proximity to the period of *Tolkāppiyam*.

Tol denotes another sound change where the final–i becomes-y.[7] While he explains the dipthong /ai/ in two ways i.e. a+i → ai and a+y→ ai, it is evident that i and y alternate in the final position. It is certain from the above changes that /y/ is more a vowel than a consonant and it is articulated like a front vowel as per the rule as per the rule in *Piṟappiyal*.[8]

In the language of the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions we have words with both i and y mingled together. Perhaps the authors of these inscriptions should have meant the cluster of /iy/ by the aphorism in *Tolkāppiyam*, "*ikaram yakaram iṟuti viravum*".[9] Or it should

be due to the scribe's error. But in the period of these epigraphs even in the medial postion /i/ changed into /y/ eg. (ceita → ceyta). This may be considered *as a later development.*

5.3. Absence of the palatalization of k into c

In the view of Dr.T.Burrow, loss of initial c/s happened earlier to the palatalization of initial /k/ which took place when it is followed by any one of the front vowels.[10] In *Tolkāppiyam* examples for the former are limited while the second change is totally absent.[11] One may quote the *uri-c-col/cīrtti/* to be derived from Sanskrit *kīrtti. It is to be borne in mind that Tolkāppiyar enlisted only native words in the chapter uri-y-iyal which according to some scholars contain the enumeration of roots (plus some suffixes in some items) of local origin.* In order to supply an evidence to the palatailzation of k → c, one should not hasten to identify this local word *cīrtti* with Sanksrit *kīrtti*. The same word occurs elsewhere in *Tolkāppiyam*[12] (-Cīrtti maṇṇumaṅkalam) and in Puṟanāṉūṟu[13] (-aruñ-cīrtti). Even in the early Buddhist Tamil epic Maṇimēkalai (500 A.D), we witness the same word, being the personal name of the Chola queen.[14] Hence, *it is not unreasonable to suggest that cira, cīr meaning to excel should have been the root for the word Cīrtti. On the analogy cīr → cīrtti, nēr becomes nērtti.*

5.4. Causal Forms

Causal verbs are very rare in the language of *Tolkappiyam*. A solitary occurrence is *'kēṭpikkum'* [Tol. Col. 276]. But, the *Tamil – Brahmi inscriptions [200 B.C.] possess the paradigms of the causal verb/koṭṭkuppitta and /kuṭupitta/ occurring about ten times and / aṟuppittal/ and / ceyvitta/ each occurring twice. It is reasonable to derive from this observation that the causal verbs gained currency after the advent of Tolkāppiyam.*

5.5. Loans

Tolkāppiyar permits the incorporation of Sanskrit words, only after polished to suit the genius of the Tamil Phonology. Also he mentions translation from other languages as one of the four varieties of *Vaḻinūl* (lit: the adapted works). The three parts of *Tol* viz. *Eḻuttatikāram,* (book on phonology and morphophonemics), *Collatikāram* (book on morphology and syntax) and *Poruḷatikāram* (poetics and prosody) disclose the fact that the Sanskrit culture was blended to certain extent with the Tamil culture. Hence it is natural that the words and thoughts should have mutually influenced these two languages. When we compare the nature of loans in the language of Tamil-Brahmi insciptions and in *Tolkāppiyam,* the difference may be easily comprehended. Since the authors of most of the Tamil-Brahmi inscuriptions are considered to be Buddhists and Jains speaking Pali and Prakrit respectively, they had occasionally missed to adhere to the rules of Tamilization, as evidenced from such words as *dhammam, Sālakan, Sutan* etc., (this tendency was continued even in the Pallava and Chola inscriptions of the later period). Nevertheless, the Tamilized forms also occur in customs in the ancient epigraphs.

e.g. *Kaṇinantaṉ Kōcipaṉ, Kaṇinākaṉ, tavirai* < *Sthavira Kācipaṉ, Ceṅkāyapaṉ.*

Some of the above names denote the apostles of Buddhism and Jainism, revealing the *fact* that these religions were gradually spreading in the south by the time of the said epigraphs perhaps due to the missionary activities, initiated by the Maurya king Aśoka.

Tolkāppiyam also possessed some Sanskrit words such as *antam,* ētu, mārāyam[15] etc., but they seem to be of a different nature, since they represent some of the

grammatical, political and cultural types. There are references even to Vedic sacrifices and to the avocations of the fourfold social groups, side by side the native stratification of society based on the geographical divisions. Yet the impact of Non-Vedic schools is not visibly seen in any part of the text. Anyhow, *if we count the percentage of loan words both in Tolkāppiyam and in the above inscriptions, it is definite that the latter contain more alien words, thus leading to strengthen the hypothesis that the former should belong to somewhat an earlier period.*

5.6. Syntax

In conformity with the rules of the syntactical structure where the attributes and titles precede the personal names or head words as promulgated in Tol. Col. 41, 42 etc., the following instances are found in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions.

In the Mankulam inscriptions

	Attribute	Head
1.	Kaṇi	nantaṉ
2.	Paṇavaṉkaṭalaṉ	vaḻuti
3.	Iḷañ	caḻiyaṉ
4.	neṭuñ	caḻiyan
5.	veḷḷaṭai	

nikamattu k-kāviti kāḻitika antai

The last illustration corresponds to some extent to what *Cēṉāvaraiyar* has given in his commentary i.e. *Kāviti kaṇṇantai.*

In the Koṅkarpuḷiyaṅkuḷam inscriptions

1. upācaṉ	paracu
2. upācaṉ toṇṭi	iḻavaṉ
3. pākaṉūr pērācāṉ	piṭṭaṉ
4. matirai antai	visuvaṉ

In the Alakarmalai inscriptions

1. veṇ	kōsipaṉ
2. matirai-p-poṉkolavaṉ	ātaṉ
3. koluvaṇikaṉ iḷañ	cantaṉ
4. erukkāṭṭūrīḻakkuṭumpikaṉ	pōlālaiyaṉ
5. yāṟṟūr	ceṅkāyapaṉ

6. Problem of violation of rules

Tolkāppiyar categorically mentioned that words ending with-m (-they belong to aḵṟinai or inferior category) should take the augment [cāriyai] /attu/ before taking the case-signs.[16] In conformity with this rule, the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions possess an occurrence, '*nikamattōr*'. The same tendency is found in the language of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Cankam* anthology with some exceptions. Before the social case-sign /oṭu/ the coming of the inflectional increment /attu/ was optional according to another rule in Tolkāppiyam.[17] It is exemplified in its own usages. e.g. *akaramoṭu, kālamotu.* In Patiṟṟu-p-pattu and Tirumurukāṟṟip-paṭai the words *cīṟṟamoṭu* and *kāmamoṭu* occur respectively. Yet, the absence of the compulsory morpheme /attu/ before-m ending words to take case-signs especially dative case-sign is against the rule in *Tolkāppiyam.* It is surprising to witness such violations even in the very text of *Tolkāppiyam.* They are the following:-

1. aivakai aṭiyum āciriyakkuriya (Tol. poruḷ. 359)
2. Vēḻakuriṭṭe vitantu kaḻiṟeṉral (Tol. poruḷ. 579)

Does the violation in *Tolkāppiyam* itself imply interpolation or the author's unawarness of his own rule? The answer is not far to seek. He has not transgressed the prescription either in *Eḻuttatikāram* or

in *Collatikāram*, but only in the *Poruḷatikāram* that too in the chapters on prosody and the traditional usages. To meet with the metrical exigencies in the construction of the above quoted aphorisms akin to akaval metre, there is no other go except to forgo the rule. If he followed the morpho-phonemic rule strictly, he would have marred the metre of āciriya-p-pā in which form he composed all his aphorisms. So, the author seems to be in a dilemma as to abandon either the morpho-phonemic rule or the prosodial rule. Naturally, he preferred the first, giving prominence to poetry. *Tolkāppiyar* himself set an example to get extricated from the clutches of hard and fast rules [-which of course are essential to keep the neatness of the structure of the language], just to convey the thoughts as easily and elegantly as possible to serve the very purpose of the language.

The position in Caṅkam language

It is pertinent to note that –m ending words are not affixed with the augment / *attu*/ especially before taking the fourth case-sign/ku/, as seen in some poems of *Akanāṉūṟu*, one of the super anthologies of Caṅkam period. The following are some examples.

1. *Veṇpuṟakku* < Veṇpuṟam + ku, 139.10
2. *māṭakku* < māṭam+ku, 167.14.

Such usages are also seen in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* [50 B.C. - 50 A.D.]:

nilakku < nilam+ku 570, 572, 1003.

In the *Cilappatikāram* [300 A.D.] also similar occurrence is noticed.

In the Maṇimēkalai [500 A.D.] the following examples deserve our attention:

maṉakku < maṉam+ku] 24.158.

Vētakku <Vētam+ku 27.103.

Let us consider the phylogenetic changes, occurred in the language of Caṅkam poems so that the antiquity of Tolkāppiyam may be meaningfully understood.

7. Phylogenetic changes

The phylogenetic changes denote the sequence of changes, which occurred during the evolution of the language.

The grammatical rules, promulgated by Tolkāppiyar have underwent changes in the language of Caṅkam poems. They are identified atleast under three heads viz., 1. *Phonemic change* 2. *Grammatical change* and 3.*Shape change*. First of all, let us consider the phonemic change.

7.1. The phonemic changes

According to Hockett, any change in the repertory of phonemes or in the arrangement in which they occur is known as phonemic change [Vide, *A Course in Modern linguistics*, p.380.]

With regard to the distribution of phonemes, Tolkāppiyar prescribed well-defined norms. Palatal/C/ occurs with all vovels except *a, ai* and *av* in the initial position of the word [Tol Eḻuttu. 62]. After him, the position changed and in the language of Caṅkam poems, C with *a* occurs in plenty in the beginning of a word. The following are some illustrations:

7.1.1. /C/ *with a*

Cakaṭam (Akam 136.5, 301.7; Kuṟu 165.3; Naṟ. 4.9; Pari, 10.17; Puṟam 102.2; Perumpāṇ 50)

Caṅkam Pari 2.13

Caṭai Kali 1.2, 38.1, 104.11, 150.9; Paṭṭi 54, Pari 9.5, 11.2; Puṟam 43.4, 56.1.
Caṇpakam Kali 150.21; Kuṟiñci 75; Tirumuruku 27, Pari 12.77
Catukkam Tirumuruku 225, Naṟ 319.6
Cantam Patiṟ 87.2; *Cantaṉam* Pari 21.25
Canti Tirumuruku 225; *Cantu* Akam 102.3, 287.4
Camam Akam 25.19, 46.12, 149.12, 220.4, 231.11, 387.13, Kuṟiñci 229; Ciṟupāṇ 112 etc.
Camaḻppu, Pari 20.36, Camaṉ Kali 97.5
Camaippiṉ Pari 5.39; *Caraṇattar* Pari 10.10.
Carumattiṉ Pari 21.3;
Calam Pari 10.90, 15.58; Maturai 112
Caṉam Pari 10.9, 59.
In Paripāṭal *Caiyam* [-a mountain 11.14] occurred.

The initial occurrence of ñ with ā, e and o is prescribed in Tol. Eḻuttu. 64. However, in the Caṅkam Tamiḻ/ñ/with *a* and *i* also occurred in the initial position of the word. The following are some examples for the phonemic change.

7.1.2. /ñ/with a

ñamali Akam 122.9, 140.9, 388.14; Kuṟiñci 131; Kuṟu 179.2; Naṟ 285.5; Paṭṭi 140, Perumpāṇ 132, Malai 42.
ñamaṉ Pari 3.12, 5.61; Puṟam 6.9.

7.1.3. /ñ/with i

ñiṇam Puṟam 177.14; *Akam ñimili* 148.8
ñimiṟu Akam 59.9, 78.3, 102.10; Kali 127.3; Patiṟ 12.12, 50.18; Puṟam 93.12; Maturai 684
ñilam Patiṟ 17.9; Puṟam 62.10.

During the times of Tolkāppiyar the palatal semivowel /y/ occurred only with ā initially [Tol. Eḻuttu. 65]. That means words such as *yāṇṭu*, *yāṇ*ku, *yāṉai*, *yāvai*, *yāṇar*, *yāṭu*, *yāppu*, *yāmam*, *yāy* and *yār* were

in vogue during his period. However after him, /y/ with *a* and *ū* also occurred initially. Some examples are given here below.

7.1.5. */y/with a*

The word *yavaṉar*, which did not occur in the age of Tolkāppiyar, finds a place in the Caṅkam poems [Akam 149.9; Neṭunal 101; Puṟam 56.18; Perumpāṇ 316; Mullai 61].

The word *yavana* is derived from *Ionia*, a Greek Island. In its semantic expansion, it denoted the Greeks and Romans and also their products. In this context, it is pertinent to quote the reputed Sanskrit scholar **A. Berriedale Keith** who observed that in *Pāṇini's* Aṣ*ṭādhyāyi*, the word */yavanānī/* occurred and hence *Pāṇini* should have written his grammar only after the invasion of Alexander the Great [Vide, **A History of Sanskrit Literature**, p.425], i.e. 350 B.C. **His suggestion leads us to think that Tolkāppiyar should have lived at least some time before 4th century B.C.**

7.1.6. /y/ with ū

The occurrence of /y/ with the vowel /ū/ in the initial position of a word is also a later development. In the Caṅkam poem *yūkam* [Kali 43.12; Tirumuruku 302] and *yūpam* [Puṟam 15.21, 224.8; Maturai 27] are found.

7.2. The Grammatical changes

The deviation from the prescribed grammatical rules and the introduction of fresh morphemes such as suffixes and post-positions are collectively called the grammatical changes [Vide, Hockett; **A Course in Modern Linguistics**, p.381]. First of all let us consider some of the grammatical deviations indicating the long journey of the language from the times of Tolkāppiyar.

7.2.1. – an̲, the gender suffix

Tolkāppiyar prescribed /-an̲/ to be the masculine singular suffix occurring in the third person [Tol. Col. 5]. However, in the language of Caṅkam poems,/-an̲/ is also used to denote the first person singular. Some examples would suffice;

1. utaviyum uṭaiyan̲ [Akam 195.10]
2. Yān̲ ikal̲ntan̲an̲ [Kur̲u 43.1]
3. uraittan̲an̲ yān̲ [Pur̲am 136.22]
4. koṇṭu vantan̲an̲ [Pur̲am 201.7]

According to Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar, in the aforesaid examples it is /-al/ that has been changed into /-an̲/. However, it is a novel feature in the Caṅkam language, not found in Tolkāppiyam.

7.2.2. /mō/ - the Expletive

In the period of Tolkāppiyam, /-mo/ was an expletive occurring with the verb of second person [Tol. Col. 274]. However, the usage was extended to first person also in Akanān̲ūr̲u [*nām cen̲mō* 32.17] and in Pur̲anān̲ūr̲u [(nām) *cen̲mō* 381.5].

7.2.3. /til/- the Expletive

The expletive /til/ when it denotes desire occurs only with the verb of the first person [Tol. Col. 260]. This grammatical rule, is relaxed in the following usages:

1. Occurring with the verb of second person

māykatil, Akam 258.8; *ol̲ikatil*, Akam 340.5.

2. occurring with the verb of third person

Varukatil, Akam 141.11; 276.7; *Vaykkatil*, Akam 347.9. *ar̲ikatil*, Kur̲u – 14.4.

However, the occurrence of /til/ along with noun is a novel feature.

Eg. niṉtōḷ kaṇṭōr *palartil* Akam 82.15.

7.2.4. /mār/ - the Epicene plural

Tolkāppiyar prescribed /-mār/ to be one of the three suffixes denoting third person plural [Tol. Col. 7]. In another aphorism, he clearly mentions that the third person plural verb of uyartiṇai (human class) takes the termination /mār/, ending with a finite verb [Tol. Col. 207]. The deviation from this prescription is found in the following occurrences where – mār ends with noun and not with a verb.

	mār	Noun	Reference
1.	*koṇmār ...*	*maṟavar*	[Akam 67.6-8]
2.	*ceṉmār ...*	*uyarntōr*	[Puṟam 362.22]
3.	*muṭimār...*	*maṉaṉ*	[Tirumuruku 89-90]

In the utterance, the word *peymmār* [Akam 300.2] and *Ceṉmār* do not occur as verb, but as participial nouns in the language of post-Tolkāppiyam period.

Also, /mār/ occurs with a noun to denote Epicene plural. Eg. Tōḻi*mār* Akam 15.9, 48.5.

7.2.5. Present tense morphemes

Though Tolkāppyar denoted the past, present and future tenses, he did not mention overtly the specific morphemes of present tense. The following are some signs of present tense which are neither prescribed nor used by Tolkāppiyar, but occurring for the first time in the language of Caṅkam literature.

7.2.5.1. /kiṉṟa/ - the present tense marker

1. alar *ākiṉṟatu* palarvāy-p-paṭṭē [Akam 96.18, 296.14]
2. nōy *ākiṉṟatu* [Naṟ 272.10]
3. kavvai-y-*ākiṉṟatu* aiyaniṉ naṭpē [Naṟ 227.9, 354.11].

4. tīramum vaiyaiyum *cērkiṉṟa* kaṇkaviṉ [Pari. 22.35]

7.2.5.2. /āniṉṟa/ - the present tense marker

Another present tense marker /āniṉṟa/ is found in Aiṅkuṟunūṟu: Curam naṉi *Vārāniṉṟaṉaḷ* 397.3. Such usages indicate the structural changes that the language experienced during its onward march through the ages.

7.2.6. New case-signs

After the times of Tolkāppiyar, new case-signs find a place in the Caṅkam poems. In order to meet the linguistic requirements, the poets should have introduced them. These fresh case-signs earmark a new chapter in the history of Tamil grammar. Let us point out each of them with sufficient examples from the Caṅkam poems.

7.2.6.1. /āl/ - the third case-sign

Tolkāppiyar enunciated that /oṭu/ and /āṉ/ are the morphemes indicating the third case [Tol. Col. 73, 74]. However, in the language of Caṅkam literature, /āl/ occurs as a productive morpheme denoting the third case, as deduced from the following examples:

1. *ataṉāl u*lamaral varuttam uṟutum Akam 18.12-13
2. *ataṉāl uva*-v-iṉi vāḻiya neñcē Akam 87.11-12
3. *ataṉāl aṭ*upōrc ceḻiya ikaḻātu Puṟam 18.26-27
4. *ataṉāl ē*kumiṉ.... Naṟ 42. 5-6
5. *ataṉāl e*yyātu viṭutalō koṭitē Aiṅkuṟu 242.2-3
6. *ataṉāl i*raviṉ vāral Kali 49. 22-23
7. *ataṉāl i*ṉṉōr aṉaiyai Pari 1.52-53.

7.2.6.2. /koṇṭu/ - the third case marker

In the place of regular case-signs some words function to bring forth their semantic significance. Such words are called *Col-l-urupu* in the later grammatical texts. It is pertinent to note that Tolkāppiyar did not

mention such word-case signs. Nevertheless, in the language of Caṅkam literature they were used. One of them is /koṇṭu/ which is basically a conjunuctive participle occurring in the past tense. It means *'having got* or *possessed'*. When it is used as a marker of third case [instrumental case], its original meaning is forgotten. The following are some usages where /*koṇṭu*/ functions as a third case-sign.

1. *veṇkōṭukoṇṭutan,* pulvēy kurampai pulara ūṉṟi Akam 172.9-10
2. *orupaṭaikoṇṭu* varupaṭai peyarkkum Akam 174.2
3. *ampukoṇṭu* aṟutta ārnār urivaiyiṉ Akam 269.10
4. *malarcilakoṇṭu* ... kulamutal vaḻutti Aiṅkuṟu. 259.2-3
5. *Ciṟukōl koṇṭu* ... māri mokkuḷ puṭaikkum Aiṅkuṟu. 275.2-3
6. *kuṟiñci-p-pūkkoṇṭu* ... peruntēṉ iḻaikkum Kuṟu 3.3-4
7. *ataṟkoṇṭu* ... aṉṉai alaikkum Kuṟu 246.4-5
8. *kōlkoṇṭu* alaippa Naṟ 58.4
9. *Veṇtōṭukoṇṭu* ... malar malaintu Patiṟ 70. 7-9
10. *Orukaṇaikoṇṭu* mū-u-eyil uṭaṟṟi Puṟam 55.2
11. *poṉkoṇṭu* pāṇar ceṉṉi poliya-t-taii Puṟam 126.1-2.

7.2.6.3. /māṟu/ - the third case-sign

Like /koṇṭu/, māṟu also was a new grammatical sign, signifying the third case. Originally it meant change, contrary etc. The following are some copious examples.

1. kolkaḷiṟṟu yāṉai *nalkalmāṟē* Akam 336.14.
2. puraicāl maintai-y-*ōmpaṉmāṟē* Patiṟ. 34.12; 35.1.
3. piṟarkkeṉa vāḻtī *nīākaṉmāṟē* Patiṟ. 38.16; 39.1.
4. aṉaiyai ākaṉmāṟē Patiṟ 54.9.
5. aṉaiyai *ākaṉmāṟē* Puṟam 4.17.
6. neṭumāṉ añcinī *aruḷaṉmāṟē* Puṟam 92.6.

7. paciyār ākaṉmāṟu Puṟam 153.10.
8. aṉṉaṉ *ākaṉmāṟē* Puṟam 380.14.

In all these instances /māṟu/ with the expletive /ē/ is preceded by a noun /nalkal/, /aruḷal/, /ākal/ or /ōmpal. However, in the following examples it occurs after relative participles both positive and negative.

1. antīṅ kiḷavi *Vanta māṟē* Akam 262.18.

In the usage, /vanta/ is past relative participle and it goes with māṟē, effecting the instrumental sense.

2. yāṉavaṉ *vārā māṟē* Akam 336.17.

3. *vallā māṟē* Kuṟu 309.8.

4. *aviyā māṟē* Kuṟu 375.8.

In these examples /*vārā*/ and /*aviyā*/ are negative relative participles followed by the third case-sign māṟu + ē. The word *Vallā* is implied negative relative participle ending with the same sign.

These new features which are not mentioned by Tolkāppiyar suggest that the grammarian should have lived long before the times of the Caṅkam literature.

7.2.6.4. /kai/ - the seventh case - sign

Tolkāppiyar enlisted a number of words denote place or time to be the signs of seventh case. They are kaṇ, kāl, puṟam, akam, uḷai, kīḻ, piṉ, cār, ayal, puṭai etc. [Tol. Col. 81, 82]. In the list /kai/ is not found. However, in the language of Akanāṉūṟu, the following usage is noticed:

Cevilikai eṉputalvaṉai nōkki 26.18

The ancient commentator whose is not known writes: *Cevilikai* – Cevili-y-iṭam, i.e. kai like kaṇ and kāl does not denote the limb, but it gives the sense of place.

7.2.7. New Expletives

Tolkāppiyar enumerated many expletives [acai-c-col] in the chapter *Iṭai-y-iyal*. They lost their force of original meaning and were used only as fillers to meet the metrical exigency. After his period, many more expletives were introduced by the poets of Caṅkam anthology. There are presented serially only with some examples due to the paucity of space.

7.2.7.1. /attai/

The word *attai* literally means aunt. It has its semantic association with *attaṉ*, meaning father. However, it lost its force and became an expletive in the course of time. Some examples:

1. pulavar tōḻa kēḷāy *attai* Kuṟu 129.2.
2. ārpatam peṟuka tōḻi-y- *attai* Kuṟu 389.2.
3. naṭukkiṉṟi niliyarō-v-*attai* Puṟam 2.20.
4. nilīiyar *attai* nīyē Puṟam 375.16.
5. āṉṟu viṭṭaṉaṉ *attai* Puṟam 399.30.

In the first four examples /attai/ occurred in second person singular. In the last instance, it occurred in the third person masculine singular.

7.2.7.2. /ittai/

In Kalittokai /ittai/ occurs as an expletive. Its original sense is not clear. However, it is used as a filler, forming the suffix of a verb in the second person:

1. vēynaral viṭarakam nī-y-oṉṟu *pāṭittai* 40.10.
2. teruḷa-t- teriyiḷāy nī-y-oṉṟu *pāṭittai* 43.15.
3. cēyuyar ūcalcir nī-y-oṉṟu *pāṭittai* 131.24.

The word *pāṭittai* has been split by the learned commentator Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar into two *pāṭu* + *ittai*, the

former being a verb in the second person singular, meaning 'sing', while the latter is identified as an expletive.

7.2.7.3. /ōrum/

/ōrum/ originally meant thinking, surmising etc. However, it is used in the following passages only as a filler of a foot [Cīr].

1. melliyal *ōrum* tāṉvā ḻalaḷē Akam 12.14.
2. ivaḷum perumpē tuṟṟaṉaḷ *ōrum* Akam 310.5.
3. *ōrum* alaikkum aṉṉai Kuṟu 246.5.
4. maṭamayil *ōrum* maṉaiyavarōṭom Pari 19.21.

7.2.7.4. /teyya/

The new expletive /teyya/ occurs in the following passages.

1. oṇṭoṭi ñemukkā tīmō *teyya* Akam 60.8.
2. ampal vāytta *teyya* taṇpular Akam 100.15.
3. palarē *teyyaem* maṟaiyā tīmō Ainkuṟu 64.4.
4. utu-k-kāṇ *teyya* uḷḷal vēṇṭum Kuṟu 81.4.
5. paṇṭum iṟṟē kaṇṭiciṉ *teyya* Naṟ 35.8.
6. vaiyai maṭuttāl kaṭaleṉa-t- *teyya* Pari 20.42.

Even if one removed /teyya/ the poem does not lose any meaning. Its addition fills the place of a foot, thus contributing to the cadence or harmony of the metric line.

The word /teyya/ was also changed to /teyyō/ which occurs only in *Ainkuṟunūṟu* [vide, being the last word of the fourth line of all the poems 231 to 240]. The decade under reference is named *teyyō pattu*, giving prominence to the expletive.

7.2.7.5. /toṟu/ and its forms

The expletives *toṟu, tōṟu, toṟum* and *tōṟum* originated from the same root toṟu. Though they are used as expletives, they convey the sense every and each. Some examples are cited below:

/toṟu/

1. ērtaru kaṭunīr *teruvutoṟu* oḻuka Akam 264.8.
2. muḻavu imiḻiṉṉicai *maṟukutoṟu* icaikkum Ainkuṟu 171.2.
3. *maṟukutoṟu* pulāvum ciṟukuṭi Naṟ 114.3.

7.2.7.6. /toṟum/

1. taṉkayam naṉṉiya *poḻiltoṟum* Akam 25.3.
2. aṉimalar *tuṟaitoṟum* varikkum Ainkuṟu. 117.3.
3. *kuṭit oṟum* nallārai vēṇṭuti Kali 110.2.
4. *tuṟaitoṟum* parakkum Kuṟu 51.3.
5. *maramtoṟum* piṉitta kaḷiṟṟinir ... Puṟam 109.11.
6. *pulamtoṟum* parappiya tērinir ... Puṟam 109.12.

7.2.7.7. /tōṟu/

1. ceppaṭar aṉṉa Ceṅkuḻai *akamtōṟu* Akam 9.4.
2. *kōṭutōṟu* ēyiṉai Naṟ 139. 2-3.
3. ulakkai vayiṉtōṟu aṭai-c-cēmpu Patiṟ 24. 19.20.
4. *karuṅkalliṭaitōṟu* āṉiṟ parakkum Puṟam 5. 1-2.

7.2.7.8. /tōrum

1. *paiṅkāltōṟum* iruvi tōṉṟiṉa Akam 28.45.
2. uyarmukai naṟuṅkāntaḷ *nāḷtoṟum* putitīṉa Kali 53.5.
3. *vaikaltoṟum* nilampeyarntu uṟaiyum Kuṟu 298.3.
4. iruṅkaḷamtōṟum Puṟam 392.8.

Mostly the expletive tōṟu occurs before vowels while its alternant forms occur elsewhere.

7.2.7.9. /māḷa/

Etymologiclaly the word māḷa < māḷ means to die. But, having lost its sense, it is used as an expletive as evidenced by the following examples.

1. varuka *māḷa* eṉṉuyir ... Akam 16.10.

2. o̱ḻika *māḷa* niṉ neñcatt tāṉē Naṟ 11.5.

3. pūṇka *māḷa* niṉ puravi neṭuntēr Patiṟ 81.32.

It is to be understood that the expletive /māḷa/ occurs only before imperative verbs viz., varuka, oḻika and pūṇka.

7.2.7.10. /yāḻa/

The word /yāḻa/ may be associated with yāḻ-harp. However, it lost its original sense and the Caṅkam poets used it as a filler in the metric line. Some examples:

yāḻa niṉ Akam 28.8; 39.2.20; Kali 7.5, 13.10; Kuṟu 367.1; Naṟ 9.3, 39.1; Puṟam 144.2, 163.3.

It seems that the expletive /yāḻa/ occurs only along with /niṉ/, the oblique form of nī-you i.e. second person singular pronoun.

From the study it follows that all the aforesaid expletives which are predominantly found in the Caṅkam poems are belonged to the post-Tolkāppiyam period.

Next in order let us briefly study some aspects of shape change, helpful to determine the antiquity of Tolkāppiyam.

7.3. Shape change

Due to wear and tear, some words suffered shape change. Economy of effort is also adduced to be a vital reason for this change [Hocket, **A Course in Modern Linguistics**, p.382]. In the language of Caṅkam poems, sufficient words are available to illustrate the shape changes. Let us consider some of them.

7.3.1. Loss of initial n-

Tolkāppiyar clearly stated that /num/ is the oblique form for the second person plural [Tol. Eḻuttu. 162, 187, 325; Tol Col. 143]. Though, /num/ has been retained, it has also been changed into /um/ in the language of Caṅkam literature. Some examples are given here below.

1. *um* maṉai Akam 56.14.

2. kōṭēntu alkul taḻaiyaṇintu *ummōṭu* Naṟ. 368.3.

3. *umakku* nacciṉiṉār īpavai Pari 20. 84-85.

4. *um* kuṭiyē Puṟam 45.5.

It is essential to note that loss of initial dental nasal is also seen in words like *nīr* (water) becoming *īr* (wet) in Caṅkam poetry. Some examples:

1. *īr*-m- puṟattu Akam 8.1, 56.6

2. *īr*-n- taṉ peruvaṭu Aiṅkuṟu 213.2.

3. *īr* ñeṇṭu Kuṟu 117.2.

7.3.2. nīyir → nīr

The word /nī/ is singular second personal pronoun. If the plural suffix -/ir/ is added, then the plural assumes the form *nīyir* or *nīvir*. In the former –y- becomes the glide, while in the latter-v-is the glide. However, /nīvir/ is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam and also in Caṅkam poetry. Tolkāppiyar has implied that though *nīyir* is plural, it is common to both masculine and feminine [Tol. Col. 188]. Also it is common to both uyartiṇai and akṟiṇai. Due to haplology, /nīyir/ has become /nīr/ in the Caṅkam Tamil. Eg.

1. *nīr* uraimiṉ Aiṅkuṟu 397.4.

2. *nīr* uraicey nīrmaiyil cūḷ Pari 8.73.

3. *nīr* pāṭiṉir celiṉē Puṟam 110.6.

4. *nīr* yār eṉṉātu Maturai 738.

7.3.3. Poḻutu → pōḻtu

Tolkāppiyar clearly mentioned *poḻutu* (time) to be one of the two categories, the other being space, constituted the primary objects [Tol. Poruḷ 4]. In the entire text only poḻutu is found. However, during the passage of time *poḻutu* was pronounced as *pōḻtu* and hence the changed form finds a place in Caṅkam poems.

1. taṉpeyal eḻili tāḻnta *pōḻtē* Akam 175.18.
2. varutum eṉṟavaṟ teḷitta *pōḻtē* Akam 194.15.
3. *pōḻtiṭai*-p- paṭāmal kali 4.10.
4. *pōḻtuḷḷār* tuṟantār kali 29.14.
5. kārcey mālai varūum *pōḻtē* Naṟ 37.11.

These are only some examples.

7.3.4. Yāṅku → eṅku; yāvaḷ → evaḷ

The change of /yā/ becoming /e/ was known to Tolkāppiyar. For example he refers to the change of the base-forms *yām* and *yāṉ* into /em/ and /eṉ/ being their respective oblique forms [Tol. Eḻuttu. 188, 192]. However, there are certain words beginning with /yā/ which did not change into /e/ in his period. Nevertheless, in course of time such shape changes occurred in the language of post-Tolkāppiyam period.

yāṅku is the ancient form which in the course of time was changed into eṅku. One may quote many instances for the change of yā into e, such as *yāvar – evar, yāvaḷ – evaḷ, yātu - ētu* or *etu*. However, in the Caṅkam Tamil the following are some examples for this kind of sound change.

1. *eṅkum* terintatu koḷvēṉ Kali 144.16

2. uḷaḻuttiyāḷ *evaḷō* Pari 6.91.

Since both /yā/ and /e/ are palatals, the former has become the latter.

7.3.5. Loss of Initial Palatal

Dr. Burrow, the Sanskrit Professor of Oxford University and the eminent Dravidian linguist established that the loss of initial palatal was one of the traits of South Dravidian of which Tamil has been the prominent language [Collected papers on Dravidian Linguisitics, p.113]. In the language of Caṅkam literature, many examples are available for this sort of phonemic change which was not operative in the period of Tolkāppiyam. Let us consider them one by one.

7.3.5.1. yāṭu – āṭu

Some examples for the change are the following:

1. *āṭu* parantaṉṉa īṉal eṅkiṉ Akam 331.3.

2. *āṭu* talaiyāka Neṭu 160.

[Here, āṭu means aries, the first of the zodiac]

3. *āṭu*-iyal aḻaṟkuṭṭattu Puṟam 229.1.

[See the note under 2]

7.3.5.2. yāttirai → āttirai

The word yāttirai meant journey. In this sense it occurred in Paripāṭal [19.18]. Due to loss of initial palatal, this word assumed the form *āttirai* which occurred in the following passage of Kuṟuntokai:

kaḷḷil kēḷir *āttirai* 293.1.

It means the journey of those who are desirous of drinking toddy.

7.3.5.3. yār → ār

The word yār is an interrogative pronoun, meaning 'who'. This form is derived from *yāvar* [Tol. Eḻuttu. 172. Col.210]. In the Caṅkam language though this form gained currency, its corrupted form /ār/ is also noticed.

Eg. aruḷē maṉṟa *ārum* illatuvē Kuṟu 174.7.

7.3.5.4. yāṟu – āṟu

The word yāṟu means river. Tolkāppiyar mentions yāṟu [Tol. Poruḷ. 189]. Due to loss of initial palatal it becomes āṟu. In some Caṅkam poems /āṟu/ is used.

Eg.

1. Cellāṟṟu-k- kavalai Kuṟu 263.2.
2. āṟu kitantaṉṉa akalneṭun teruvil Neṭu 30.
3. *āṟṟaṇi* Pari 11.50.
4. *Cilampu* āṟu Pari 15.22.
5. uḷ-ḷ-āṟṟu-k- kavalai Puṟam 219.1.

So far we have seen the shape change of some significant words. Let us proceed to deal with some syntactical features which seem to be later development in the Caṅkam poetry. Let us cite one or two examples.

8. Syntactical features

Tolkāppiyar clearly promulgated that there should be concordance between the subject and predicate [Tol. Col. 5-11]. However, some digressions are noticed in the Caṅkam poetry.

S P

Eg. 1. *iktō* *Celvaṉ* Akam 26.19-20.

In this sentence the subject iḵtu [+o expletive] meaning 'this' is neuter singular. *Celvaṉ* is the noun

predicate. Here it means son. So, it denotes masculine singular of superior category (uyartiṇai). At the surface level, there is no concordance between the subject and predicate. Though the sentence is syntactically wrong, since it is the utterance of lover [heroine], one should not isolate grammatical error, since such expressions are the outcome of deep love, transcending the grammatical level. Lovers don't find time to think of grammatical accuracy. Such usages are also found in Kalittokai.

Eg.

S P

1. *iktu ottaṉ* [60.9, 61.1, 62.1, 64.18]

2. *iktu otti* [143.8, 144.2]

In these sentences, *iktu*, being the neuter singular denotes masculine singular of human class, since such erroneous usage is the effect of endearment. The word *oruvaṉ* is classical. Its feminine form is *orutti*. From this word *oruttaṉ* is formed, as a case of analogical creation. In the current usage of Caṅkam period, *oruttaṉ* and *orutti* were altered respectively into *ottaṉ* and otti. The-r- is dropped as in the case of /maruntu/ becoming *mantu*, medicine.

Tolkāppiyar explained the situation of using the phrase *allatu il* [nothing other than this] in the transaction of routine business, especially associated with grocery [Tol. Col. 35]. If the customer asks the merchant whether green gram is available in the shop, the reply would be that there is nothing other than black gram.

So, the usage/*allatu il*/ should go with only the objects of inorganic nature. Against this syntactical rule, there is an exceptional usage in Akanāṉūṟu.

yāṉalatu illai ivv ulakttāṉē 268.9

The subject predicate of this utterance may be scanned thus.

S	P
yāṉ	alatu illai

/yāṉ/ is first person singular of superior category [uyartiṇai] while *alatu illai* being an alternant form of / allatu il/ is neuter singular implied verb of inferior category. Though the sentence lacks concordance between the subject and predicate, it is admitted as a later development after the period of Tolkāppiyar.

9. The numeral Kōṭi

Tolkāppiyar prescribed the morpho-phonemic rules for the numerals including the fractions as well as very big numerals in many apporisms in Eḻuttatikāram. While discussing the /-*i*/ ending words, he did not mention /kōṭi/ which means crore. However, this numeral is noted in the poems of Puṟanāṉūṟu [18.5, 184.6, 202.7].

10. The Puṟam genre

The dichotomy of Akam (love) and Puṟam (warfare) is purely native concept. These two formed the substance of classical Tamil poetry. It is not found in any Sanskrit text. Tolkāppiyar devoted one chapter to delineate the Puṟam genre in the Poruḷatikāram. He has subsumed all the objective themes, associated with Puṟam genre under seven categories viz., 1. *Veṭci* 2. *Vañci* 3. *Uḻiñai* 4. *Tumpai* 5. *Vākai* 6. *Kāñci* and *Pāṭāṇ*. Among them, the first four are concerned with warfare of ancient times. *Veṭci* denotes cattle-lifting, since cattle was regarded the wealth of the state in the ancient times. Vañci denotes the fierce battle between two mighty kings

with the intention of territorial expansion. Besieging the castle of a king is labelled *Uḻiñai*. The descisive battle to establish one's prowess is called *Tumpai*. The warriors, engaged in the specific war, used to wear the specific flower (-garland) for identity. The terms *Veṭci Vañci, Uḻiñai* and *Tumpai* originally meant the concerned flowers and in their semantic expansion indicated the specific wars.

As a result of the fourfold war, the warriors won victory which was called *Vākai*, again denoting a flower and then the emblem of success. Originally the success in the battle field was known as *Vākai*. Subsequently, victory in various fields and avocations were also subsumed under Vākai. However, the sense of transitoriness was strongly felt and hence, various kinds of impermanence were enlisted under *Kāñci*. Though the concept of impermanence is found in all systems of Indian philosophy except Cārvāka, it attained a name and detailed description with the title *Kāñci* only in Tolkāppiyam.

In the heroic period love, heroism and honour were treated to be the core values in life. Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkam poems furnish sufficient data on this aspect of heroic period. All features of honour and fame are treated under *Pāṭāṇtiṇai*.

So, Tolkāppiyar discussed only seven aspects Puṟattiṇai. However, in the post-Tolkāppiyam period the concept of Puṟam genre developed under twelve heads, as evidenced from the poems of Puṟanāṉūṟū. The retrieval of cattle was known as *Karantai*. The defence against the invasion got the name *kāñci*. Similarly the resistance against the siege of the castle was called *Nocci*. All these three were named after the concerned flowers viz., *Karantai, Kāñci* and *Nocci*, which the warriors used

to adorn during the war. Though Tolkāppiyar referred *Karantai* and *Nocci* respectively under *Veṭci* and *Uḻiñai*, they were not given autonomous status. The concept of *Kāñci* in Tolkāppiyam is different from the one, found in Puṟanāṉūṟu.

In addition to *Veṭci, Karantai, Vañci, Uḻiñai, Nocci, Tumpai, Vākai* and *Pāṭāṇ*, three more viz., *Kaikkiḷai, Peruntiṇai* and *Potuviyal* were also included during the period of Puṟanāṉūṟu under Puṟam genre. *Kaikkiḷai* (- one sided love) and *Peruntiṇai* (mismatched love) are also counted under Puṟam. The aspects which are common to all the sub-members and the aspects which do not come under any one of them are grouped under *Potuviyal*.

Thus, in the post-Tolkāppiyam period, the sub-members of Puṟattiṇai were twelve. What follows is a statement of each of them indicating their reference in the Puṟanāṉūṟu.

Sl.	Sub-member	Poems of Puṟanāṉūṟu
1.	*Veṭci*	257-8, 262, 269, 297
2.	*Karantai*	259-61, 263-5, 270, 287, 290-91, 298
3.	*Vañci*	4, 7, 16, 36, 41, 45-7, 57, 98, 213, 292
4.	*Kāñci*	71-3, 109-11, 281, 293, 336-54, 365-6
5.	*Uḻiñai*	Reference to wear the Uḻiñai [76, 77]
6.	*Nocci*	109-11, 271-2, 299
7.	*Tumpai*	62-3, 80, 87-90, 273-8, 283-4, 286, 288, 294-5, 300, 304, 307, 309-11
8.	*Vākai*	17, 19-23, 25-6, 31, 33, 37, 42-4, 51-4, 61, 66, 76-9, 81-2, 86, 93-4, 98, 100, 104, 125, 166-7, 170, 174, 178-81, 251-2, 279, 285, 296, 305-6, 308, 312-22, 326-35, 368-73
9.	*Pāṭāṇ*	2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 15, 30, 32, 34-5, 38, 40, 48-50, 55-6, 58, 60, 64, 68, 70, 91-2,

		95-7, 101-3, 105-8, 122-4, 126-42, 148, 165, 168-9, 171-3, 175-7, 184, 196, 212, 215-6, 266, 367, 374, 400
10.	*Kaikkiḷai*	83-5
11.	*Peruntiḷai*	143-7
12.	*Potuviyal*	18, 24, 27-9, 65, 74-5, 112-21, 182-3, 185-95, 214, 217-43, 250, 253-6, 280, 362-4.

[For a detailed study on the Puṟam gẹnre Vide, S.N. Kandaswamy, *Puṟattiṇai Vāḻviyal*, published by the Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1994].

As a result of the comparative perspective of *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, it becomes clear that the former belonged relatively to a higher antiquity than the latter.

11. The theory of Rasa and the concept of Meyppāṭu

Some of the modern scholars attempted to read the influence of *Nāṭya śāstra* in the chapter on *Meyppṭṭiyal* and concluded that *Tolkāppiyam* was written after *Nāṭya śāstra* which according to Dr. P.V.Kane and Dr. S.K.De belonged to the beginning of the Christian Era. Sofar a clear and complete comparative study of the contents of Meyappāṭṭiyal and the relevant chapters in Nātya śāstra has not been undertaken and hence any conclusion made on some partial, trivial, accidental similarities required revision and a thorough checkup.

First and formost one should bear in mind that the rules in the *Nāṭya śāstra* are chiefly for the dramatic art and stage craft, while the prescriptions in *Meyppāṭṭiyal* are essentially meant for the composition of verses of subjective and objective themes, depicting the manifold sentiments of the various types of characters, viz, *talaivaṉ, talaivi, tōḻi, tōḻaṉ, cevili* and others of the Akam

genre, chieftain, king, minstrel, poet and others of the Puṟam genre. *Tolkāppiyar* clearly stated that Meyppāṭu is one of the constituent members of *ceyyuḷ* (poetry), and never uttered that it belongs to the province of Drama.

Aṭiyārkkunallār, the commentator of Cilappatikāram referred to the existence of *Paratam*, a text on Nāṭaka-t-tamiḻ [vide, *uraippāyiram*]. The art of Bharatanāṭya has been specially practised only in Tamilnadu from time immemorial. The various karaṇas, mudras of this Classical dance are depicted only in the shrines of Tamilnadu such as Chidambaram and Rajarajeswaram at Thanjavur. The Tamils adored their Supreme Lord Nataraja, the Cosmic Dancer. Hence, Nāṭyasāstra of Bharata owes much to Tamil cultural Heritage.

Meyppāṭu means the physical expression of emotions and in a secondary sense means the literary taste. The theory of Rasa in the *Nāṭya śāstra* and the concept of *Meyppāṭu* in *Tolkāppiyam* may seem at the surface level to mean one and the same. *But a close study of the two reveals the remarkable difference not only in the way of enumeration but also in the elucidation of the emotions.*

11.1. The general contents of the two portions

The chapters VI, VII, VIII and IX in the *Nāṭya śāstra* descriptively deal with the sentiments and states, their subdivisions, the *bhāvas* (emotional and other states) *vibhāvas* (determinants), *sthāyi bhāvas* (dominant states), *anubhāvas* (consequents) and *viyabhicāribhāvas* (transitory states) along with the representation of the states, the gestures of minor limbs, hands etc.., on the stage.

The chapter Meyppāṭṭyal in Tolkāppiyam begins with a statement that the thirty two meyppāṭu that are

manifest in the field of sport are reduced into sixteen which again are compressed into eight, each of which is the outcome of four bases. *Another set of 32 meyppāṭus pertaining to Akattiṇai and Puṟattiṇai and those common for both tiṇais, and those occurring in pre-marital and post-marital periods are original and peculiar only to the Tamil School. Further, the statements in the same chapter about the required qualities to be accomplished by the hero and heroine, along with the detestable qualities to be shunned by them are not to be seen in the Nāṭya śāstra.*

11.2. Differences in the contents of the texts

Some more significant aspects that differentiate the views of Tolkāppiyar and of Bharatamuni, the author of N.S. are presented here.

The names denoting the eightfold meyppāṭu are purely Tamil. They are in order the following: *nakai* (laughter), *aḻukai* (weeping), *iḷivaral* (odious), *maruṭkai* (wonder), *accam* (fear), *perumitam* (majesty), *vekuḷi* (anger) and *uvakai* (joy).[19]

In the Nāṭya śāstra, the eight sentiments (rasa) recognized in drama are as follows: 1. erotic (śrṅgāra) 2. comic (hāsya) 3. pathetic (karuṇā) 4. furious (rauḍra) 5. heroic (vīra) 6. terrible (bhayānaka) 7. odious (bibhatsa) and 8. marvelleous (adbhuta).[20]

Scholars like Dr.P.S.S. Sastri equated them in the following order.[21]

Tamil	Sanskrit
nakai	*hāsya*
aḻukai	karuṇā
iḷivaral	bibhatsa
maruṭkai	adbhuta

accam	bhayānaka
perumitam	vīra
vekuḷi	raudra
uvakai	śṛṅgāra

The identification of *karuṇā* with *aḻukai*, *vīra* with *perumitam* and *śṛṅgāra* with *uvakai* seems to be improper, for they bear different connotations and shades of meaning representing the two traditions of Tamil and Sanskrit literary concept, though a partial comparison may be attempted. *Perāciriyar*, one of the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam* classified aḻukai (i.e.avalam) into *karuṇā* and *śōkam*. *From this, it is to be noted that it was not exclusively equated with karuṇā.*

Even the remaining pairs of five sentiments also do not completely go hand in hand.[22] Further, it is found in the *Nātya śāstra* that the sources of the eight rasa are the four original rasas which are the comic arising from the erotic, the pathetic from the furious, the marvellous from the heroic and the terrible from the odious. *Such a view is not found in Meyppāṭṭiyal.*

In the *Nātya śāstra*, it is mentioned that the erotic sentiment is light green, the comic sentiment white, the pathetic sentiment ash-coloured, the furious sentiment red, the heroic sentiment light orange, the terrible sentiment black, the odious sentiment blue and the marvellous sentiment yellow.[23]

Such a classification assigning colours to the rasas are not found in Meyppāṭṭiyal.

In the N.S., the presiding deities to the eightfold sentiments are mentioned. Visnu is the god of the erotic, Pramathas of the comic, Rudra of the furious, Yama of the pathetic, Siva (Mahākāla) of the odious, Yama (kāla)

of the terrible, Indra of the heroic and Brahma of the marvellous sentiments.[24]

This sort of god-based concept of rasa is also unknown to Tolkāppiyam.

In the N.S. it is mentioned that the furious (raudra) sentiment has as its basis the dominant states of anger. It owes its origin to Rākṣasas, Dānavas and haughty men, and is caused by fights.[25] *Such a superhuman origin is not found in Tolkāppiyam where all the sentiments are found to be concerned only with the human beings.*

The characteristic features of each sentiment and the manner of their representation in the stage that are vividly portrayed in the *Nātya śāstra* are not found in *Tolkappiyam.*[26]

In the N.S. it is stated that hāsya is caused by Determinants (*vibhāva*) such as mimicry of other's actions, incoherent talk, obstrusiveness, foolishness and the like.[27]

Tol. states that nakai is the result of mockery, childishness, ignorance and credulity.[28]

In the N.S. it is mentioned that *hāsya* is created by Determinants such as showing unseemly dress or ornament, impudence, greediness, quarrel, defective limb, use of irrelevant words, mentioning of different faults and similar other things.[29]

Though such a detailed list of Determinants is not found in *Meyppāṭṭiyal*, the aphorism of *Ceyiṟṟiyaṉār* quoted by *Iḷampūraṇar* in his commentary mentions that the faltering steps of the lame person, the stupid words of the ignorant, the sad words of the pathetic, the babblings of the lunatic, the belitting utterings of the relatives, the blooming words of the young ones, the

arrogant utterance of the weak, the submissive words of the strong, the beauty praised even by enemy, the education of the illiterate, *the Tamil spoken by the Aryans* etc., are the Determinants of nakai (-laughter).[30] From this statement, it becomes clear that the Aryans who immigrated from the North and settled in Tamilnadu were in the beginning unable to pronounce the Tamil words properly and hence, their utterance of Tamil produced laughter to the native Tamils.

In the N.S. it is found that the pathetic sentiment (*Karuṇā*) grows from Determinants such as afflication under a curse, separation from dear ones, loss of wealth, death, captivity, flight (from one's own place), accidents or any misfortune.[31] The same is also narrated in a different language in a subsequent passage.

In Tol,[32] it is stated that contemptible treatment, loss, change for the worse and poverty are the sources for *aḻukai* (weeping). According to *Ceyiṟṟiyaṉar, karuṇai* is called avalam by the learned.[33]

"kavalai kūrnta karuṇaiyatu peyarē

avalam eṉpa arintōr"

But in Tol neither *karuṇai* nor *avalam* is seen; *aḻukai* alone is found.

According to N.S. the odious (*bībhatsa*) sentiment is created by Determinants like hearing of unpleasant, offensive, impure and harmful attainment or seeing them or discussing them. The odious sentiment arises in many ways from disgusting sight, tastes, smell, touch and sound which cause uneasiness.[34]

In Tol, it is mentioned that ripe old age, disease, pain and low status are the sources of iḷvaral.[35]

According to N.S.[36] the Marvellous (adbhuta) sentiment has as its basis the dominant state of astonishment. It is created by Determinants such as sight of heavenly beings or events, attainment of desired objects, entrance into a superior mansion, temple, audience hall, a seven-storied palace and seeing illusory and magical acts etc... Further it is also found that the Marvellous sentiment is that which arises from words, characters, deed and personal beauty.[37]

In Tol, it is stated that maruṭkai takes its origin from newness, greatness, littleness and creation.[38]

In the N.S.[39] It is mentioned that the Terrible sentiment (bhayānaka) is created by Determinants like hideous noise, sight of ghosts, panic and anxiety due to (untimely cry of) jackles and owls., etc. Further it is found that Fear is caused by the Determinants such as offending one's superiors and the kind, roaming in a forest, seeing an elephant and a snake, staying in an empty house, rebuke (from one's superiors), a dark rainy night, hearing the hooting of owls and the cry of animals that go out at night and the like.[40]

In Tol.[41] it is found the evil spirits, wild animals, thieves and one's own ruler are the sources of *accam* (fear).

In the N.S.[42] it is stated that the Heroic sentiment (vīra) is created by Determinants such as presence of mind, perseverance, diplomacy, discipline, military strength, aggressiveness, reputation of might, influence and the like. The same text also mentions in a subsequent portion that the same sentiment arises form energy, perseverance, optimism, absence of surprise, and presence of mind etc.,[43] *This portion seems to be a later addition, since some of the Determinants are repeated again.*

Hence, the problem of interpolation may be taken a common feature in the ancient texts, indited in Sanskrit and also Tamil.

In Tol. it is said that Perumitam arises from the sources of scholarship, bravery, fame and liberality.[44]

The N.S. presents that the Furious sentiment (Raudra) is created by Determinants such as anger, rape, abuse, insult, untrue allegation, exorcizing, threatening, revengefulness, jealousy and the like.[45] Its actions are beating, breaking, crushing, cutting, piercing, taking up arms, hurling of missiles, fighting, drawing of blood and similar other deeds.[46]

In Tol. it is stated that the painful cutting of the limbs, destruction of family, pillage and murder are the origin of vekuḷi.[47]

In the N.S.[48] it is mentioned that the Erotic sentiment (Śrṅgāra) proceeds from the dominant state of love and it has as its basis a bright attire; for whatever in this world is white, pure, bright and beautiful is appreciated in terms of the Dominant state of love (śrṅgāra). It[49] has two bases: union (sambhoga) and separation (vipralambha). Of these two, the erotic sentiment in union arises from Determinants like the pleasures of the season, the enjoyment of garlands, unguents, ornaments, (the company of) beloved person, objects (of senses), splendid mansions, going to a garden and enjoying (oneself) there, seeing the (beloved one), hearing (his or her words), playing and dallying (with him or her), while the erotic sentiment based on separation relates to a condition of retaining optimism arising out of yearning and anxiety.

In Tol[50] such a long list of Determinants is not given. It is found that wealth, experience of pleasures, sexual

union and sport are the sources of Uvakai, freed from misery.

It is essential to note that Tolkāppiyar presented uniformly only four bases for the appearance of each meyppāṭu, whereas the author of Nātya śāstra has given an exhaustive list of determinants for the origin of each sentiment (rasa). From the above comparative study of the *Nātya śāstra* and the *Meyppāṭṭiyal* in Tol. *it is evident that the two texts represented two different literary traditions, though some flimsy and trivial similarities may be seen. The surface-level commonness found between Tol. and N.S. deserves to be attributed to the national stock of Indian poetics. Hence, it is proper to conclude that Tol is not influenced by N.S. and also vice versa.*

12. The Rhetorical aspects

The earliest reference to the theory of rhetorics in Tamil is to the seen in Tol. *uvamaiyiyal*, while in Sanskrit it is found in the chaper XVII sūtras 43-83 of Bharata's Nātya śāstra. Before comparing the relevant contents in these two texts, it is essential to note that centuries before these two works, sufficient materials in a budding form should have existed in these two languages. Tol. clearly mentions at least in ten aphorisms in the chapter on Uvamaiyiyal that he has presented the rhetorical concepts from the age-long tradition prevailed in his days. A poem in *Patiṟṟuppattu* (200 B.C. to 100 B.C.) by way of stating that either the wise or the illiterate thinks that only the *Chera* king *Peruñceral Irumpoṟai* becomes comparision to others, while others could not become a comparison to the former conveying the idea that the object of comparison should excel all others in character. The passage under reference is given below:

"piṟarkkunī va:yiṉ allatu niṉakkup
piṟaruvamam ākā oruperu vēntē" (Patiṟṟu. 73:2.3)

Ulōccaṉār, a Caṅkam poet of Jain faith, extols the Chola monarch Rācacūyam Veṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi in the same manner as seen above. He admires the Chola as one who becomes comparison to others (i.e.. his equals) and other monarchs could not become a comparison to the Chola. The portion in Puṟanāṉūṟu runs thus:

"piṟarkku uvamam tāṉallatu

taṉakku uvamam piṟarilleṉa" (377:10-11)

The artisans in Madurai wellversed in the art of painting, sculpture etc., were experts in explaining things of every nature by showing suitable comparison. Thus we find a reference in Maturaikkāñci:

"evvakaic ceytiyum uvamam kāṭṭi

nuṇṇitiṉ uṇarnta nuḻainta nōkkiṉ

kaṇṇuḷ viṉaiñar" (516-518)

In Tirukkuṟal, God is depicted as one who has no comparison: *"taṉakkuuvamai illātāṉ" (7)*

In these ancient Tamil classics, the words *uvamam* and *uvamai* indirectly indicate the existence of some Tamil grammatical works on the subject. It is essential to mention that the Cankam classics are rich in similes and metaphors, leave alone the other forms of figures of speech.

Sanskrit scholars are of the opinion that the study of rhetorics is not mentioned either among the orthodox disciplines styled as Vedāṅgas or in the Vedic Samhitas, Brahmaṇas or the ancient Upaniṣads. Though the word *upamā* occurs in the Rgveda it is used in the sense of example and has no rhetorical value. The earliest Sanskrit grammarian Pānini incidentally discusses for the first time the conception of comparison while dealing with

some affixes including case and feminine suffixes, krt taddhita and samāsānta terminations, in the making of compounds and in accent.[51] In Tamil from the ancient period onwards, usually the fifth case-sign and not other affixes as in Sanskrit is used in the sense of comparison and at times in the sense of contrast also.

12.1. Yaska vs Tolkappiyar

A close study of *Yaska's Nirukta* (300 B.C.) and *Tolkappiyar's uvamaiyiyal* could reveal the independent growth of the concept of *uvamai* in Sanskrit and Tamil, though some seeming similarity may be inferred. *Nirukta* contains five-fold classification of similes, viz.,

1. *karmopamā* 2. *bhūtopamā* 3. *rūpopamā* 4. *siddhopamā* and 5. *luptopamā* also known as *arthopamā*.[52] The last one is deemed to be an equivalent to the *Rūpaka* of later theories, and it is interesting to note that *Tolkāppiyam* also has one version of comparison which in later period was separately named as *uruvakam* [Rūpaka], as per the earliest available commentary of the text.[53] To illustrate this sort of simile (i.e. *rūpaka*) a classical example from *Puṟanāṉūṟu* is cited in the commentary.[54] Among the remaining varieties of simile, *karmopamā* and *rūpopamā* are very similar to *viṉai* or *toḻil* and *uru* in *Tolkāppiyam*. According to Dr. S.K. De, in *bhūtopamā* the upamitā becomes the upamāna in character, while in *siddhopmā* the standard of comparision is well established and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act.[55] *These two varieties would not be taken to fully correspond to the remaining two viz., payaṉ and mey in Tol.*

In *Nirukta*, only 12 varieties of particles of comparison are treated while in *Tolkāppiyam* 36 types (plus 12 governed by the world piṟa in the *Cūttiram* 282, in *Poruḷ*) are found and the author has assigned eight

separate varieties from the total of 36 particles to each of the four kinds of comparison. *It is really a well-defined grammar, since it attempts to describe that the particular kind of comparison should take the particular particle of comparison.*[56] *Tolkāppiyar is really democratic in defining grammar, since he allows the rare occurrence of one particle in a different kind of comparison, giving due regard to the minor usages that fall apart his definition.*[57] Though he made an exhaustive, extensive and intensive survey of the literary and oral usages of Tamil language, he expected some exceptions to the rules framed by him and hence provision for them is made in his treatise.

Hence, it is just to suggest that the development in the domain of rhetorics (as seen from the two texts under reference) *at least in the early phase of its evolution in Tamil and Sanskrit seems to be independent, and the seemingly trivial similarity noticed between these two may be accidental or due to mutual influence.* From this common trend, one can not propose the proximity of the period of the two texts under reference.

12.2. The Definition of Uvamai

Grammarians attempted to formulate a concise definition of *Upamā* (i.e. comparison). Two early definitions are available from Sanskrit sources, one from Yaska's quotation and another from the *Mahābhāsya* of *Patanjali*. *Yaska* quotes from *Gargya* who envisaged that *upamā* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned through similarity with an object having similar attributes and generally the standard of comparison should be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison; but the reverse case is also accepted.[58] *Though such a definition is not found in Tolkāppiyam, the author agrees in that that the standard of comparison should surpass all other things in character,*

i.e. it is should be supreme. But, unlike Gargya he never admitted the reverse order.

Another definition is made by Patanjali who is supposed to be a native of Chidambaram and he mentions that a māna or measure is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown and upamā is approximate to the māna determines the thing not absolutely but approximately, e.g., when we say a gavaya is like a cow. But, the later rhetoricians like the author of Citramimāmsa were reluctant to accept the example adduced by Patanjali as an instance of poetic upamā, since the characteristic charmingness essential in a poetic figure is absent in a such a plain and barren statement.[59] However, Patanjali's connotation of the word māna-measure is in complete agreement with the perennial Tamil tradition. In the list of nine initial phonemes that commence the words denoting meaure and weight, Tol mentions /*mā*/, and according to the text and commentary the word /*mā*/ denoted in some contexts a measure and in other contexts a weight.[60] Examples to these are many not only in the Cankam classics but in the inscriptions of the Imperial Cholas. Hence /māna/ in the sense of measure need not be exclusively considered to be Sanskrit, and *since Patanjali being a South Indian, gives such a meaning it is possible to infer that he should have expressed the Tamil concept.*

Tolkappiyar apparently commences the chapter on Uvamaiyal with enumeration of the four kinds of simile, and the absence of a definition in the chapter suggests the formative stage of rhetorics in the historical march of the Tamil poetics. Even the early commentator Iḷampūrṇar in his introductory remarks to the chapter under reference mentions only the benefit accruing from the study of Uvamai and does not present any definition.

According to him[61] one derives two-fold benefits from the study of comparison. They are:

1. Unknown things become known.
2. As an embellishment, it gives pleasure to the listeners and readers.

He illustrates the first by adducing the same example given by *Patanjali* thus: *"āppōlum āmā eṉa uṇarttiyavaḷi, ataṉaik kāṭṭakattuk kaṇṭāṉ muṉkēṭṭa oppumai paṟṟi iktu āmā eṉṟu aṟiyūm"*. He explains the second thus: *"tāmaraipōl vāḷmukattut taiyalīr eṉṟavaḷi alaṅkāramakik kēṭṭārkku iṉpam payakkum"*. It means: "It one said, 'oh young damsels whose shining face resembles the lotus flower', it becomes an embellished expression, effecting joy to the audience. The first illustration is not only found in the *Mahābhāsya of Patanjali* but also in the *Nyāyasutra of Akṣapāda* (150 A.D.) who defines that comparison is the knowledge of a thing through its similarity to another thing previously well known.[62] He gives the same example thus:

"A man hearing from a forester that a bos gavaeus is like a cow resorts to a forest where he sees an animal like a cow. Having recollected what he heard he institutes a comparison, by which he arrives at the conclusion that the animal which he sees is bos gavaeus. This is knowledge derived through comparison."

Even in Manimekalai, the ancient Tamil Buddhist epic (500 A.D.) the portion that deals with the Vedic *Naiyāyika* system presents the same definition and illustration closely following *Nyāya* Sūtra. The portion under reference is this:

"uvamam āvatu oppumai aḷavai

kavayamā āppolumeṉak karutaḷ" (XXVII 41-2)

It is natural that the Naiyāyikas being the pioneers in the field of epistemology confined themselves in defining comparison as a source of valid knowledge, neglecting its aesthetic value or rhetorical merit. *Prasastapāda* (500 A.D.). the commentator of *Vaiśeṣika sūtra* and *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa* (600-700 A.D.) the official interpreter of *Jamimini's Mimāmsa Śutra* readily accepted *upamāna* as one of the means of valid knowledge.[63] This state of affairs indicates the growing significance of comparison not only in the sphere of rhetorics but in the area of epistemology. *It is possible from the above Tamil quotation from Maṇimekalai to derive the word uvamai from the Tamil word oppumai,* i.e. oppumai → uvamai.

Coming to the third definition available from *Bharata's Nātya śāstra*. It runs thus: "When in a poetical composition anything is compared on the basis of similarity it is an instance of simile. It relates to quality and form".[64] *None of the three definitions of upamāna is found in Tolkāppiyam*. Even the type of comparison of quality has no wider implication in Tolkāppiyam. It mentions *uru* i.e. colour and this quality of a thing is perhaps extended to other qualities in the subsequent period and hence in the later rhetorical works the name /*urū*/ has been replaced by the word/paṇpu/or/kuṇam/.[65]

12.3. Importance of simile

Iḷampūraṇar is of the opinion that the simile is peculiar and predomainant in *Akam* poems only, thereby suggesting that the love themes usually are decorated by the application of rhetorical embellishment.[66] Perhaps from the bulky body of Akam poems shining with charming similes in abundance, he should have derived this conclusion. But even in Puṟam poems, there are captivating and colourful similes. In the introductory

aphorism of *Ceyyuḷiyal* that enumerates the various limbs of poetry, *Uvamai* is left out. The reason for the omission is beyond the cognition of the present author. Again, it is worthy of attention that in the initial chapter of *Porulatikāram*, i.e. *Akattiṇaiyiyal, Tolkappiyar* has made a two-fold classification of simile viz., *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (i.e.symbolic simile) and *ēṉai uvamam* (i.e. simple simile), and also in the chapter on *Poruḷiyal* he mentions some more varieties of simile of the *uḷḷurai* type.[67] Though he is essentially a grammarian, he has created beautiful similes in his text in order to elucidate certain concepts of subjective and objective themes. In explaining one of the themes of *Vañci-t-tiṇai,* he compares an individual warrior who with his sole valour vehemently withstands the oncoming opponents, to a stone-built barrier that arrests the upsurging ferocious flood.[68] In another context that deals with the hero who after the accomplishment of his duty did not halt on his return journey, the author compares his valiant horse, that helped him in need like his mind and that ran swiftly, to a flying bird.[69] Here the fast-running of the horse is compared to the swift flying of the bird and thus the comparison comes under the division of action (i.e. *viṉai uvamam).* All these go to prove the significant role of simile in the sphere of poetics by the time of *Tolkāppiyam.*

12.4. Uvamaiyiyal Vs Nātya śāstra

In fixing the age of Tolkāppiyam, a comparative study of uvamaiyiyal and the portions in Nātya Śāstra will be immensely useful. At the outset, let us endeavour to underline the salient features of the two texts in dealing with the rhetorics.

1. *Tolkāppiyam mentions only one figure of speech,* viz., *uvamai* (-simile) and *hence the chapter that deals with it is named after it* (i.e *uvamaiyiyal*). But, *Nātya śāstra*

enumerates four kinds of figure of speech viz., 1. *upamā* 2. *rūpaka* (metaphor), 3. *dīpaka* and 4. *yamaka*.[70] Even if one takes that Tol. *Cūttiram* 280 that describes one version of *uvamai* really refers to *rūpaka* (as viewed by the later rhetoricians as per the commentary of *Iḷampūraṇar), the remaining two more additions in Nāṭyaśāstra seem to be a growth, long after the period of Tolkāppiyam.*

2. *Nāṭyaśāstra*[71] counts the objects of comparison to be of four varieties. i.e. The comparison may be of one with one, or of one with many or many with one or of many with many. The examples given in the text to these types are the following.

i. Your face is like the moon.
(One compared with one)
ii. Stars shine like the moon.
(Many compared with one)
iii. Having an eye like that of a hawk, a peacock and vulture (one compared with many) and
iv. Elephants are like clouds.
(Many compared with many)

Among the four, the third one is agreeable with *Tolkāppiyam* aphorism 308, and it is named as *"taṭumāṟṟuvamam". Anyhow, the afore-seen classification is not found in Tolkāppiyam.* However, one aphorism in *Tolkāppiyam* indicates the rhetorical tradition that permits whole and part (*mutalum ciṉaiyum*) may be compared with the same member or with one another.[72] As per the commentary of this aphorism, *four varieties of comparison which are not like the four types in Nātya śāstra are available. They are the following:*

i. Whole for whole e.g. The Maraa tree is like Balarama.
ii. Part for whole e.g. The boy is like the lotus-flower.

iii. Part for part e.g. The face is like the lotus-flower.
iv. Whole for part e.g. Small eye is like fire.

In aphorism *295*, there is a mention of five sorts of simile-like (i.e. *uvamappōli*) construction. According to *Iḷampūraṇar*, they are the following:

i. It has no paralled or comparision (as in Tirukkuṟaḷ, 7)
ii. This is the only comparision to this.
iii. If we collect the selected parts of many objects, they may serve as comparison to this.
iv. If the charm in various objects comes to one place, then it is proper comparision to this, and
v. Nonconcomitant objects also are compared. e.g. if the veracious hero utters lie, then it is just like a fire appearing in a cool moon (*-Kalittokai 41.22-33*).

This method of comparison is not found in Nātya śāstra.

3. Further, *Nātyaśāstra* enumerates with examples five kinds of simile, viz., 1. *prasaṃsā* (praise), 2. *nindā* (censure), 3. *kalpitā* (conceit), 4. *sadśri* (uniqueness) and 5. *kimcitsadśri* (partial linkeness).[73] After presenting this, the text further states that those not described here are to be gathered from the available poetical works and from the popular speech. But in *Tolkāppiyam* though such a classification is not found, it mentions the bases or substance of comparison to be of five varieties viz., excellence, goodness, love, strength and also the inferior object.[74]

It is essential to note that Tol prescribed the conditions and contexts where the traditional characters viz., the hero, heroine, lady-companion, maid-mother and others expressed themselves in rhetorical language. It is clear that Tolkāppiyar precisely expounded his theory of rhetorics deep-rooted in the

long tradition of the Tamil life and literature.[75] *There are some more aspects in Tol that are absent in the Nātya śāstra.*[76] These aspects are discussed by the present author in a separate article with the title, "*The Rhetorical Tradition of Tolkāppiyam*" [vide, Tamil Literature and Indian Philosophy, I.I.T.S. Chennai, 2001, pp.86-123].

Hence, the comparative analysis of the contents of uvamaiyiyal in Tolkāppiyam and the portions in Nātya śāstra that deal with the theory of rhetorics reveals the fact that the two texts possess individual methodology and distinct character in presenting the rhetorical concepts and in all probability Tolkappiyam exhibits an ancient trend, while Nātya śāstra projects a later phase in the evolution of Indian rhetorics as a whole. So it is proper to infer that Tolkāppiyam is sufficiently older than the Nātya śāstra.

13. Figures of speech in Tolkāppiyam and Caṅkam Classics

During the period of Tolkāppiyam the figure of speech simile [-uvamai] alone occupied a pride of place. Already, it has been pointed out that Tolkāppiyar treated *uruvakam* [-inverted simile, i.e. metaphor known as rūpaka in Sanskrit] to be a version of uvamai. However, in the Caṅkam poems apart from simile and metaphor, other forms of figure of speech were created by the imaginative poets. They include *Taṟkuṟipēṟṟam* i.e. projection [Naṟ. 88, 243], *Taṉmainaviṟci* i.e. description of real nature [Puṟam. 100], *Uyarvu naviṟci* i.e. Hyperbole [Naṟ. 282], *Muraṇ* i.e. Oxymoron [Kuṟu 196; Puṟam 12 Pari. 4.25-32] *Vañca-p-pukaḻcci* i.e. Praise in the form of censure [Puṟam 107], *Iraṭṭuṟamoḻital* i.e. Pun [Puṟam 48.1-2; 70.16] and *Coṟporuḷ piṉvarutal* i.e. the recurrence of the same word in the same meaning or different meaning [Kuṟu 285; Pari 7.8-9, 18.1-6, 15-20]. Even a cursory glance

at the fresh figures of speech, enshrined in the Caṅkam poems is enough to propose that Tolkāppiyam belonged comparatively to an ancient period when the rhetorical devices did not develop into diverse expressions.

14. Sāntarasa

According to one version of *Nātya śāstra, Sānta* is counted as a *rasa* as against the old tradition which maintained only eightfold rasas.[77] Coming to *Tolkāppiyam*, the author emphatically and categorically stated that there are only eight *meyppāṭus*.[78] The absence of *Sānta* rasa in Tol. leads to the conclusion that it should be anterior to the *Nātya śāstra*.

15. Gāndharva Veda

Some scholars read in the phrase, *"icaiyoṭu civaṇiya narampiṉ maṟaiya"* in Tol, eḻuttu, 33, the existence of *gandharva veda* during the period of *Tolkāppiyar*. But it is to be borne in mind that the Kalinga king Khāravela (200 B.C.) is extolled as *"Gandharava Vedabudhah"* in his Hathigumpha inscription. His contact with Tamil Nadu is conceded by the renowned historians. From this epigrphical reference one may deduce that the study of *Gandharva Vedu was prevalent at least some centuries before Kharavela. Since the Caṅkam classics are replete with enough knowledge of music and allied subjects, "narampiṉmaṟai" in Tolkāppiyam naturally denotes the native Tamil text on the subject. So, it is unjust to place Tolkappiyam after the peiod of the Kalinga king Khāravela.*

16. Some Prosodial Features

The biggest chapter in the whole of *Tolkāppiyam* is *Ceyyuḷiyal* containing 235 aphorisms dealing with the canons of versification. Even in the remaining chapters of Tol, special rules to the poetic usages are codified and this shows the significant status occupied by the

different forms of poetry. The luminous and voluminous nature of this individual chapter entitled *Ceyyuḷiyal* naturally resulted in the subsequent periods to the formation of *Yāppatikāram*, a separate book on prosody to be treated on a par with *Eḻuttatikāram, Collatikāram* and *Poruḷatikāram* as evidenced from the ancient commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal. Likewise the single chapter in *Tolkāppiyam* viz., *uvamaiyiyal* developed in a later period into a big treatise known as *Aṇiyatikāram*. Thus in the medieval period Tamil grammar came to be called *Aintu Ilakkaṇam* i.e. Five systems of Grammar.

In *Ceyyuḷiyal, Tolkāppiyar* has recorded a perennial tradition of Tamil prosody in addition to the innovations that took place in his own days or just before him. In formulating and presenting the prosodial rules, he has quoted the by-gone authors in many contexts. The following portions in *Ceyyuḷiyal* are worth-mentioning:

1. Nallicaip pulavar ceyyul uṟuppeṉa
   vallitiṟ kūṟi vakutturaittaṉare
   - The opening aphorism in Ceyyuḷiyal

2. Yāppeṉa moḻipa yāppaṟi pulavar. 383
3. Nārpēr ellai akattavar vaḻaṅkum
   yāppiṉ vaḻiyatu eṉmaṉār pulavar. 384
4. Poḻippeṉa moḻital pulavar āṟē 403
5. Nūlnavil pulavar nuvaṉṟaṟain taṉarē. 457

Such quotative types of aphorisms indicating the pre-existance of many a prosidial text before *Tolkāppiyam* cannot be ruthlessly set aside by a historical researcher. *Ceyyuḷiyal* provides with a wealth of information as regards to the constituent members of a poem, types and subtypes of a poem, literary genres etc., It is possible only if the author has already traversed through the groves of a vast body of literary cum grammatical works

that existed well in advance to his composition of *Tolkāppiyam*.

Unlike the medieval prosodial works that enumerated the four-fold verses in the order of *Veṉpā, Aciriyam, Kalippā* and *Vañcippā* perhaps due to the influence of *varnāśrama dharma*, since these four types of verses in the medieval and later periods respectively represented the four caste distinctions of the society commencing from *antaṇar* and ending with *vēḷāḷar, Tolkāppiyam* presented the same four types in the order of *āciriyam, vañci, veṇpā* and *kalippā*, most probably suggesting that the communal divisions of Vedic faith did not pervade the domain of prosody, and thus leading one to propose its relative antiquity.

Due to the non-availability of proper ancient literary pieces written in *Veṇpā, Kalippā and Paripatal metres that were studied by Tolkāppiyar* to formulate the rules regarding to their structure, some of the modern thinkers hasten to conclude that only after a close study of *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* in the eight Anthologies and *Veṇpā* works in *Kiḻkkaṇakku, Tolkāppiyar* has finalished his *ceyyuḷiyal. This hasty decision seems to go against the principles of comparative and histrocial research, since most of the poems in these collections are not in conformity with many a rule not only in ceyyuḻiyal, but in the remaining chapters of Tolkāppiyam. Those, who have thoroughly analysed and identified the striking contrasts between the language of the Caṅkam anthologies pertaining to the phonological, morphological and syntactical aspects on the one hand, and the grammar of Tolkāppiyam on the other, may be easily convinced that since some of the prosodial features of Tolkāppiyam are at variance with the format and content of many Caṅkam poems, it is meant for an earlier body of literature.* It is improper to suggest that there did

not exist any work in *Veṇpā* metre long before *Tirukkuṟaḷ or Nalaṭiyār* in *Kiḻkkaṇakku,* since the perfection and beauty in the said metre attained in these works speak to the pre-existence of works in venpā metre many centuries before them. *All these metres are native and not foreign i.e. taken from Sanskrit.*

It is regrettable to note that proper illustrations to the literary genres viz., *pici, aṅkatam, paṇṇatti, mutumoḻi, mantiram etc., and vaṇṇam, vaṉappu* etc., in *Tolkāppiyam* are not available from the accessible Caṅkam classics, and the stray scanty examples shown by the learned commentators are in most places not only inadequate but inappropriate and only they are cited for illustration's sake and not to justify the correct contents of the aphorisms in the text.

Tolkāppiyam prescribes Kalippā and Paripāṭal to be the proper forms of metre to accommodate love-thems.[79] As against this rule, religious themes form the substance of many poems in *Paripātal. Akaval* metre is liberally used in the *Caṅkam* classics to delineate love themes, with the solitary exception of *Kalittokai,* even where one can find many transgressions and new developments of prosodial features, reflecting the changes in the sphere of prosody after *Tolkāppiyam.* Since[80] more attention in *Tolkāppiyam ceyyuḷiyal* is focussed on *Kalippā,* its varieties and its homogeneous and kindred forms viz., *Veṇpā, Paripāṭal, Aṅkatam, Kaikkiḷai etc., it is possible to suggest that this melodious type of poetry should have been the progenitor to all the other types of verses. This hypothesis holds good if one agrees with the linguistic view that only from the emotional and musical expressions, even the primitive language itself was evolved. Also it contains the conversational language of the public thus representing the living language of the people. This again tells upon the*

realistic, archaic and natural form of poetry, prevalent during the period of Tolkāppiyar.

Some may think that due to the presence of the Sanskri word *ampōtaraṅkam* to denote one of the limbs of a particular kind of *kalippā, ceyyuḷiyal* can not claim a very high antiquity. It is to be borne in mind that before the occurrence of the said word, *Tolkāppiyar* has denoted the same by the pure Tamil word /eṇ/ and its semantic significance noted by *Iḷampūraṇar* proves beyond doubt that it is a native idiom.[81] However, in one or two places, the Sanskrit word is found, perhaps due to the insertion of the medieval prosodial grammarians. Even in Sanskrit prosody, the word *ampotaraṅkam* has nothing to do with metrics and it remains a puzzle how this word crept into the province of Tamil prosody. In all probability, it should have been introduced by some commentarial custodians, prior to Iḷampūraṇar.

A general survey of the contents of ceyyuḷiyal in Tolkāppiyam and the existing Caṅkam poems reveals the fact that Tolkāppiyam preceds the latter at least by some centuries. Let us project some vital points in this regard.

17. Innovation in Prosody

Tolkāppiyar's canons of versification were considerably changed in the Super anthology of Caṅkam period. Only some aspects are here considered for want of space, in order to underscore the relative antiquity of Tolkāppiyam.

17.1. nērpu and niraipu

Tolkāppiyar prescribed four kinds of metric syllables viz., *nēr, nirai, nērpu* and *niraipu*. Among them, the former two were undoubtedly held to be monosyllables. Even the last two were treated by Tolkāppiyar to be monosyllables, since the last member

of these syllables being shortened /u/was not reckoned like a consonant in the formation of metric syllables. In order to provide hormony, such patterns of syllables were identified. [vide, S.N. Kandaswamy, Tamiḻ yāppiyaliṉ Tōṟṟamum Vaḷarcciyum, Vol.I, Part I, Tamil University Publication, 1989, pp.107-112]. However, after the period by Tolkāppiyar, the poets treated the syllables of /nērpu/ and /niraipu/ to be dysyllabic respectively on a par with the dysyllabic patterns / *tēmā*/ and *puḷimā*/. Example for each of the syllables is given below.

1. /nērpu/ as tēmā

oḻintivaṉ uṟaital *āṟṟu* vōrkkē Akam 215.17

2. /niraipu/ as puḷimā

uyirtava-*c-ciṟitu* kāmamō peritē Kuṟu 18.5

These (1 & 2) are final lines of Akaval metre. If one scanned /*āṟṟu*/ and /*ciṟitu*/ to be monosyllabic in accordance with Tolkāppiyar's rule, then the poems in Akaval metre would suffer from metrical shortage, resulting in the defective composition of the verse. Only by scanning them to be dysyllabic, the metrical defect is removed to make the poem a perfect composition. Since the syllables /nērpu/ and /niraipu/ becoming respectively /tēmā/ and /puḷima/ in many metrical lines of caṅkam poems, it becomes evident that Tolkāppiyar's concept of syllabic patterns under reference were outmoded in the Caṅkam period.

17.2. Four Syllable foot

Tolkāppiyar categorically stated that a metrical foot should contain the maximum number of three syllables [Tol. Poruḷ 320]. It seems that after his period, the creative poets of Caṅkam classics introduced the four syllable foot to meet the requirements of Vañci-p-pā. This innovative feature is witnessed in the following

illustrative lines.

1. *Valamātirattāṉ* valikoṭpa Maturai 5
2. Tollāṇai *nallāciriyar* Paṭ 170
3. *Tollaruvāḷar* toḻilkēṭpa Paṭ 275
4. Toṟuttavayal *āralpiṟaḻnavum* Patiṟ 13.1
5. *Māvāṭiyapulaṉ* nāñcilāṭā Patiṟ 25.1
6. Irumpaṉaiyin *kurumpainīrum* Puṟam 24.12
7. Varaipuraiyum *maḻakaḷiṟṟiṉmicai* Puṟam 38.1

Since such occurrences are many, it is inferred that Caṅkam poems were composed in the post-Tolkāppiyam period.

17.3. The Rhymes or Toṭai

Tolkāppiyar classified all the rhymes which he named /toṭai/ into ten groups. They are: 1. *mōṉai* 2. *etukai* 3. *muraṇ* 4. *iyaipu* 5. *aḷapeṭai* 6. *poḷippu* 7. *orūu* 8. *centoṭai* 9. *niral niṟuttamaittal* and 10. *iraṭṭai yāppu*. Due to the literary growth and aspiration for innovative rhymes, many more patterns of toṭai were created by the Caṅkam poets. They are: 1. *iṇai* 2. *kūḻai* 3. *mēṟkatuvāy* 4. *kiḻkkatuvāy* 5. *muṟṟu* and 6.*antāti*. [vide, Tamiḻ yāppiyaliṉ Tōṟṟamum Vaḷarcciyum Vol.I, Part I, pp.197-204]. However some illustrations for each of the six new rhyme-patterns (toṭai) are presented here below.

17.3.1. Iṇaimōṉai

The similarity of the first syllables in the feet is labelled as *mōṉai*. The first letters of the first two feet are homogeneous in the lines of *iṇaimōṉai* structure.

E.g.

1. *ivaḷum iṉaiyaḷ āyiṉ tantai Akam* 2.13
2. *pūtta poṅkart tuṇaiyoṭu vatinta Akam* 4.10

17.3.2. Kūḻaimōṉai

The first letters of the first three feet are homogeneous in the lines of this pattern of rhyme.

E.g.

1. *ceṟinta cēri-c-cemmal mūtūr* Akam 15.7

2. *nāvoṭu navilā nakaipaṭu tīñcol* Akam 16.4

17.3.3. Mēṟkatuvāy mōṉai

The first letters of the first, third and fourth feet are homogeneous in this pattern of rhyme.

E.g.

1. *kalamtaral uḷḷamoṭu kaḻiya-k-kāṭṭi* Akam 3.12

2. *kārcey taṉṟē kaviṉpeṟu kāṉam* Akam 4.7

17.3.4. Kīḻkkatuvāy mōṉai

The first letters of the first, second and fourth feet are homogeneous in this type of rhyme.

E.g.

1. *maṭavai maṉṟa nīyē vaṭavayiṉ* Akam 27.6

[since, /m/ and /v/ are respectively labio and labio dental sounds, they are treated homogeneous by the prosodists].

17.3.5. Muṟṟu mōṉai

Muṟṟu means complete. Hence in this pattern of rhyme, the first letters of all the four feet are of the same group, effecting harmony.

E.g.

niṟuppa nillā neñcamoṭu niṉmāṭṭu Akam 2.12

17.3.6. Antāti-t-toṭai

Instead of *antāti*, the commentator Ainkuṟunūṟu used the lengthy name *Colvakai-t-toṭarcci*. Antāti is an

anaphoric structure, having the last syllable, word, phrase or line to begin the following. *Though the word antāti is Sanskrit, it is to be borne in mind that in the Sanskrit classics, the antāti genre is not found.* In the Caṅkam classics the fourth ten of Patiṟṟu-p-pattu and the *toṇṭi-p-pattu* of Ainkuṟunūṟu are composed in the anaphoric structure known as antāti. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's *Aṟputa-t-tiruvantāti* [500 A.D] was the first prabandha of this this native genre. In the Saiva and Vaishnava devotional lyrics known as *Tirumuṟai* and *Nālāyiram* literary creations with antāti structure are abundantly found. For instance, Nammāḻvar [A.D. 850] has composed all his poems in the antāti genre.

An example from Puṟanānūru for this type of rhyme is given here below:

maṇtiṇinta nilaṉum

nilaṉēntiya vicumpum

vicumputaivaru vaḷiyum

vaḷi-t-talaiiya tīyum

tīmuraṇiya nīrum eṉṟāṅku 1.1-5

In this passage, each metric line is linked with anaphoric rhyme i.e. *antāti.*

So far we have dealt with the six types of fresh rhyme-patterns only with regard to the primary rhyme *mōṉai.* These types are also to be studied in relation to other primary rhymes viz., *etukai, muraṇ, iyaipu* and *aḷapeṭai.* For want of space, a detailed study is tentatively left out for another occasion. It is to be understood that the system of Tamil prosody is purely native and unique totally different from that of classical Sanskrit.

17.4. The metres in Tamil and Sanskrit

The history of Tamil prosody begins with the *Ceyyuḷiyal* of *Tolkāppiyam*, though its author mentions frequently his predecessors on the subject in a general way. The history of Sanskrit prosody commences from *Pingala* whose treatise was dwindled into oblivion. Next come the Chapters XV and XVI of *Nātyaśāstra* (200 B.C.), to be followed by *Varāhamihira* (500 A.D.) in whose *Bṛhatsamhita*, the chapter civ describes metres simultaneously with planetary movements. Though the great poets like *Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti* and others composed different kinds of metres, systematic treatises on Sanskrit prosody were available only in the later period. The prosodists *Hemacandra* and *Kedāra Bhaṭṭa* wrote respectively *Chando'nuśāsana* and *Vṛttaratnākara* during 1400 A.D. to 1500 A.D.

Coming to the Tamil prosody, after *Tolkāppiyar* innumerable treatises on the subject were composed by the specialists who paid sufficient attention on the growth of Tamil poetry and legislated fresh rules to meet the demands of the day and also identified various structural patterns of Tamil poems. Among the post-*Tolkāppiyam* prosodists *Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār*, the elder as well as the younger, *Palkāyaṉār, Avinayaṉār, Mayeccurar, Naṟṟattaṉār, Vāyppiyaṉār, Kaiyaṉar, Nallāṟaṉār, Parimāṇaṉar, Kaṭiyanaṉṉiyār, Amitacākarar* and a host of others deserve special mention. They lived during 200 A.D. to 1100 A.D. Even after them, the tradition continued till this century. [Vide, S.N. Kandaswamy, **Tamiḻ Yāppiyaliṉ Tōṟṟamum Vaḷarcciyum**, Vol.I, Part I, pp.25-55].

It is essential to note that all the metres, described in the Ceyyuḷiyal of *Tolkāppiyam*, are purely native and

nothing to do with the Sanskrit metres. Let us quote the prominent metres [Ibid, pp.55-71].

Tolkāppiyar classified all the Tamil metres under four major groups. They are: *1, āciriyam (akaval) 2. vañci 3. veṇpā and 4. kalippā.* They have their own sub- members with well-defined rules. In the early Sanskrit literature *Anuṣṭup* metre was dominant. However in the early Tamil classics, *Āciriyam* alias *Akaval* was dominant. It is to be borne in mind that the rules governing the composition of these two heterogeneous metres are totally different, thus suggesting their origin of different sources and traditions. [Vide, **Tamiḻ Yāppiyaliṉ Tōṟṟamum Vaḷarcciyum**, Vol.I, Part I, pp.302-517].

Under the category of *Veṇpā, Tolkāppiyar* enumerated five varieties viz., *1. neṭuveṇpāṭṭu 2. kuṟuveṇpāṭṭu 3. kaikkiḷai 4. aṅkatam* and 5. *paripāṭṭu*. The third and fourth variety are classified on the basis of specific themes. However, all of them have different structures and genres.

Tolkāppiyar devoted more aphorisms to the melodious metre *kalippā* with four major divisions viz., *1. ottāḻicai-k-kali* 2. *kaliveṇpāṭṭu* 3. *koccakam* and 4. *uṟaḻkali* with their sub-members. The metres in Tamil do not have any parallel with the metres in Sanskrit.

In the fifteenth chapter of *Nāṭyasāstra*, the earliest known section on Sanskrit prosody, the basic principles of prosody are enunciated. The various types of metres are noted. Attributing colours to metres is a unique feature in *Nātyasāstra*, alien to Tamil metrics. Further, the classification of metres into divine, human and semi-divine classes is also purely foreign to *Tolkāppiyar's* system of native prosody.

The metres *Gāyatri, Uṣṇic, Anuṣṭup, Bṛhati, Jagati* etc. belong to the divine class. *Atijagati, Śakkari, Aṣṭi* etc. come under the human class while *Kṛti, Prakṛti, Samkṛti* etc. belong to the semi-divine class [Vide, **Nāṭya Sāstra**, Vol.I, Tr. Manmohan Ghosh, 264].

The sixteenth chapter of Nātyasāstra deals with the metrical patterns. *Tanu-madhyā, Mālini, Mālati, Simhalila, Madhkari, Mayūrasārini, Śālini* and others are vividly described in this chapter. [Ibid., pp.265-295].

A comparatice study of Tamil prosody and Sanskrit prosody reveals the fact that they belonged to two different linguistic and cultural groups independent of each other.

18. Social aspects – Some foreign elements

It is just to note that some aphorisms in *Tolkāppiyam* vividly portray the diffusion of the Aryan and Dravidan cultures. *The amalgamation of their cultures is not of the type of chemical combination but only physical combination enabling the researchers to identify and isolate the distinct aspects of both of them.* Tolkāppiyar's knowledge of ancient Sanskrit texts is indisputable. In apportioning the duties and avocations to each and every strata of the society, one could not say that Tolkāppiyar was completely ignorant of the Vedic Kalpasūtras which fall under three divisions viz., Strauta, Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras – respectively dealing with the rites of Vedic sacrifices, household duties, social obligations, law etc., of the Aryans. *On a par with these ethical conducts, Tolkāppiyar prescribed the native codes and deeds based on the tradition and customs of the ancient Tamils. The geographical classification of the landscape, the subjective and objective activities and themes subsumed under the category of karupporuḷ reflecting the remarkable culture and*

civilization of the Tamils are indeed local and not borrowed from the Aryans. Neverthless, by the time of *Tolkāppiyar* the Aryans mingled with the Tamils freely in almost all walks of life. So, he mentioned the sixfold avocations of the Brahmins viz., learning, teaching, performance of sacrifice for one's own self and for others, giving and receiving.[82] An ancient poem in *Patiṟṟupattu* specifically refers to these sixfod professions of the *Antaṇar* (usually denoting the Brahmins) and records that the Chera monarch closely adhering to *their advice* reigned over the country.[83]

Next to the priestly class comes the royal race, followed in order by the merchant community and working class with the particular professions. The deliberate and distinct usages like *mēlōr, kīlōr, iḻintor, oppōṉ, uyarntōṉ* etc., occurring in *Tolkāppiyam* directly or indirectly denote the social and economic inequalities that prevailed in the period of Tolkāppiyar.[84] The social and cultural commingling of various professional and national groups ultimately gave birth to hybrid varieties termed as *anulomas* and *pratilomas* – the Sanskrit terms denoting the mixed stratas of the society. Let us peep into their status, as revealed in the Tamil as well as Sanskrit texts.

18.1. Sūtar

In the category of *Pāṭāṇtiṇai,*[85] eulogizing of the *Cūtar* (SKT. Sūta) to arouse in the dawn the slumbering kings (in the bed chamber) who were actually contemplating to accomplish their motives and to achieve laurels in a righteous way, is included. This class of *cūtar* under reference was entirely different from the *Purānic Sūtas* who were actually sages of profound scholarship, used to narrate the myths and legends of a particular shrine to the hermits in the *Naimisāraṇya* forest. The

sources to know about the details of the *sūtars* are found only in the Sanskrit texts. In the *Kalpasūtra of Gautama* (IV-15), *Bodhayana* (I.9.9) and *Vasiṣṭa* (XVIII.6) it is stated that a *sūta* denotes a partiloma born to a Brahmin mother and royal father. According to *Manudharma śāstra* (X.47) he was a charioteer to the king. In the *Vaikānasa smārtha sūtra*, it is mentioned that he had to remind the king of his daily duties, and at times he took the role of a cook. Mahābhārata mentions that the sūtas were servants in the royal courts.[86] *In the opinion of Winternitz, "the sūtas were the representatives of the old heroic poetry who lived in the courts of the princes and sang to extol them. They also went forth to the battle-fields to sing the heroic deeds of the warriors from their own observation... They also acted as charioteers of the warriors in their campaigns and took part in their martial life.*[87]

Dr. S.N. Dasgupta and Dr. S.K. De[88] *opined that the sūtas were not mentioned anywhere in the Sanskrit literature as extolling the achievements and greatness of the renowned monarchs.* But it is to be noted that *Kalidasa* in his Raguvamsa. (sarga 5, sloka 65) clearly mentioned that the primary duty of the Bandhi (also known as *sūta*) was to sing *Suprapādam* in mellifluous and well-chosen words in the bed-chamber of the monarchs. On the basis of this reference one should not rush to conclude that *Tolkāppiyar*, who also assigned the same duty to the *sūtar* in *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal* lived centuries after the great poet *Kalidasa* (who is supposed to belong to 100 B.C.; according to some 400 A.D.) *Further, Tol. did not call the sūtas as bandhis as noted by Kalidasa. Attention is to be drawn to the reference in the Caṅkam poetry Maturaikkāñci and Cilappatikāram where Cūtas were grouped along with similar stratas of people viz., mākatar and vaitāḷikar.*[89] According to *Manusmrti* (10.11), *Māgatha* was born to a

sūta for a vaiśya woman. *Mahābhārata* points out that both *Sūta* and *Māgatha* joined together used to glorify the monarchs in melodious din. *Amarasimha* in his lexicon (*kośa*) explained that *vaitāḷika* was one with the aid of many-fold cymbals (i.e.vivita *tāḷa*) accustomed to eulogize the royal glory in order to arouse them from slumber in the dawn. So, one should not hasten to bring the aforesaid Tamil works that denote *vaitāḷika* to a period after *Amarasimha* (500 A.D.), since the Pali and Prakrit sources of early centuries before Christ also refer to these court bards.[90]

Anyhow, the absence of *Māgathas* and *Vaitāḷikas* in *Tolkāppiyarm* suggests its relative antiquity to the *Caṅkam* poetry *Maturaikkāñci* that refers to the two stratas of hybrid people under reference in addition to the mentioning of sūtas who were the only hybrid class mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam*.

18.2. Vedic systems of Wedding

The opening aphorism in *Tol. Kaḷaviyal* bears testimony to the author's intimate knowledge of Vedic culture. According to *Tol.* in the fivefold aspects of love interwoven with enjoyment, opulence and ethics, the union of the lovers in the clandestine premarital period (i.e. *kaḷavu*) resembles (partially) the nature of the gandharva form of marriage (-*yāḻōr kūṭṭam literally meaning* the union of the couple playing on the harp delighting in the melody), enlisted one among the eight kinds of Vedic weddings. *Tolkāppiyar* refers to these marriage in the line. "*maṟaiyor tēyattu maṉṟal eṭṭu* (*maṟaiyōr*, the Vedic people, *tēyattu-in Āryavardha* or the texts). What are the eightfold weddings of the Vedic people? According to an old aphorism quoted in the commentaries of *Tolkāppiyam* and *Iṟaiyaṉar kaḷaviyal*, they are the following.[91]

1. *aranilai* (also known as piramam < SKT. Brahma).
2. *oppu* (also styled as piracāpattiyam < SKT. prajāpatya. In Cilappatikāram [24.16.4] it is named ayalmaṇam).
3. *poruḷkōḷ* (i.e. āriṭam < SKT. ārśa).
4. *teyvam* (SKT. Daiva).
5. *yāḻōrkūṭṭam* (SKT Gandharva).
6. *arumporuḷ viṉai nilai* (i.e., ācuram < SKT. āśura also known as manusha).
7. *irākkatam* (SKT. rākṣasa, also known as kṣātra) and
8. *pēynilai* (SKT. paiṣācha).

The ancient Tamil grammarians have not reproduced the eightfold types of marriage as they are in Sanskrit, but rendered them in Tamil idioms without marring the semantic content of the original.

In the order of enumeration of the weddings as found in the Sanskrit texts, next to *Brahma* occur *Daiva, Prajapatya* and *Ārśa*. The rest remained all the same in both the lists. Again, in defining these weddings the Tamil sources agree to a great extent to the accounts found in the Vedic Kalpasutras except in explaining Āśura form of marriage. According to Dr.S.Radhakrishanan, "In the *Āśura* form of marriage the husband buys the bride for a price. It is a marriage by purchase. It assumes that the woman has a value, and cannot be got for nothing".[92] Dr.Ramgopal, following the great philosopher quoted elaborately from the *Kalpasūtras* and endorses the above statement.[93] This explanation is latent in the Tamil equivalent of *Āśura*. viz., "*Arumporuḷ viṉainilai*" in the aphorism quoted by the Tamil commentators, and it is to be noted here that the custom of paying money to the bride is an old tradition known as *paricam* or *mulaivilai* as found in *kōvai* literature and Tamil folklore and it continues to be

prevalent even at present among the Tamils living in rural areas. Nevertheless, the Tamil commentators explained the *Āśura* form of wedding as one to be celebrated only after the hero came out with flying colours in the competitions set for the purpose proving his prowess by subduing a ferocious bull, or by shooting a revolving hog. Of course the first test was not known to the Aryans and it was very familiar with the pastoral people of the Tamil country as depicted in the Kalittokai. Anyhow, the commentators ably subsumed similar customs whether they were Aryan or Tamilian in character, under one category taking its spirit carefully. The annotator of *Iṟaiyaṉār kaḷaviayal,* in addition to the above explanation has also included the Sanskrit definition of *Āśura.*

18.3. Vedic Weddings Six or Eight?

Originally there were only sixflod systems of Vedic marriage, as mentioned in the *Āpastamba and Vasishṭa Dharmasūtras.*[94] Only the *Asvalayana Strauta sūtra, Vaikānasa Grhyasūtra, Baudhayana and Gautama Dharmasutras* included in the list the additional two forms of marriage viz., *prajāpatya* and *paiṣācha.*[95] *Manudharma* also mentions all the eight kinds of Vedic marriage. Hence it seems to be a colossal anachronism to place the relevant sutra in *Tolkāppiyam,* which overtly mentioned all the eight forms of Vedic marriage,[96] in a period prior to the above mentioned *Kalpasūtras* most of which attained their final form during 500 B.C.

18.4. War camp-restriction to accompany with women

Avoidance of taking the heroines (wives of the heroes) to the war camp was promulgated in *Tol.poruḷ,* 173. If the battle continued for a long time, naturally the heroes (*-talaivar* i.e., husbands) should be desirous to answer the call of sensual passion and hence, *Tolkāppiyar*

permitted them to have the company of harlots even in the war camp (*Tol.poruḷ*, 174). The cottage of the concubines near the battle field were known as "*ēṉātippāṭi*" as mentioned in *Kalittokai* (81-17). It seems that Tolkāppiyar never liked the distraction of warriors turning towards women, neglecting their duties in the battle field. (The defeat of the American soldiers in the Vietnam War in the sixties of last century is said due to this sort of negligence, distraction and indulgence). In this context, it is appropriate to remember that the hero of Neṭunalvātai, Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ was exemplary to the warrior's code of conduct as enunciated in Tolkāppiyam, forgetting his queen and fully concentrating on the battle, till vanquishing his enemies.

In *Patiṟṟuppattu*[97] the poetess *Nacceḷḷaiyār* ridiculed the indulgent and debaucherous monarch *Āṭukōṭpāṭṭuccēralātaṉ* residing in the war tent amidst the beautiful dancing damsels, reminding him of the would be sarcasm from the opponent's camp. The implication of her statement reveals the fact that the company even with outer women was discorded and despised by the time of *Patiṟṟuppattu*.

Hence, it is clear that the social condition depicted in *Patirruppattu* should be posterior to that of *Tolklāppiyam* suggesting the relative antiquity of the latter.

18.5. Voyage with women

The historical accounts available from western and eastern sources, leave alone the numismatic findings and literary evidences strongly support the view that the ancient Tamils were seafaring people, having commercial and cultural contacts with the civilized countries of the world. In *Tolkāppiyam* and *Caṅkam*

anthology references to navigation are not wanting. It is peculiar to note that the Tamils of Tol period undertook voyages to foreign countries leaving their wives at home (Poruḷ, sūtra 37). It seems that the social law of that ancient period prohibited the company of women on two significant contexts, viz., 1. war-camp and 2. voyage, perhaps due to avoid them from the impending danger which would occur at any time in these circumstances.

Anyhow this habit should have changed in the subsequent periods, as gleaned from the far-fetched reference to the shipwrecked women in the Buddhist epic *Maṇimēkalai* (500 A.D.)[98] This social change indirectly tells upon the high antiquity of *Tolkāppiyam*.

18.6. The Sati or Self-immolation

Despite the geographical and linguistic barriers, the Indians from the Himalayas to the Cape Comerin shared among themselves many common customs and manners. The authors who lived in different regions never failed to record them in their writings and hence we come across the description of the same habits not only in Sanskrit and Prakrit works but also in Tamil and other Dravidian literature. Such common customs and concepts are considered to be **Pan-Indian-a** term first coined by the famous Indologist Max Muller. One of them is the practice of Sati or self-immolation of the woman who used to enter willingly into her husband's funeral pyre. Though this seems to be cruel, from the point of view of a dedicated and devoted wife it was considered to be solemn and sacred. However, the close relatives and the learned on seeing such a horrible scene, due to excess sympathy and compassion should have tried to save the woman from self-immolation thinking her family status and obligations to children and others.

Usually due to the strong will of mind, the woman would prefer death than to lead a solitary life. This practice is recorded in *Tolkāppiyam* as one of the aspects of *Kāñcittiṇai* in the following lines.

nallōl kaṇavaṉoṭu naḷiyaḻal pukiic

colliṭai iṭṭa mālai nilaiyum: (Tol. poruḷ. 77)

In *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (245), there is a touching eloquence made by a Pandya queen who admonished the learned who tried to avoid her from falling into the funeral pyre of her husband and finally she expressed that the lotus floating pond and the pyre of her husband are all the same to her. Manimekalai, the Buddhist Tamil epic also contains references to this custom[16. 25-28].

Coming to the Sanskrit side, it seems that this custom was not found in the early literature. Dr.S.Radhakrishnan observes:

"Regarding the practice of Sati, or self-immolation, there is no direct reference to it in Vedic literature. Gṛhya Sūtras... are silent about it. The Mahabharata mentions two instances of sati. 1. Mādri immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband Pāṇḍu. 2. The wives of Vasudeva burnt themselves with the body of their lord... The widows of the Kuru family duly performed the śraddha ceremonies, after the cremation of the dead bodies of their husbands. During the early centuries of the Christain era, when the Sakas and the Hūṇas invaded the country and created havoc, the princely families resorted to this practice to save the honour of their women... Bāṇa in his Kādambarī declares that this is a path followed by the illiterate, is a manifestation of infatuation, a course of ignorance, an act of foolhardiness. Madhātiṭhi the commentator on Manu condemns sati as an act of suicide, not of Dharma."[99]

Dr. Ramgopal endorsing the above view expressed that only the Viṣṇu Dharma sūtra, a late work (300 B.C. to 100 B.C.) mentions the custom of sati and also says on the death of her husband, a woman should either observe chastity or ascend his funeral pyre.[100] *It is his opinion that this practice was not observed by the Aryans in the remote past.*[101]

This custom was also widely prevalent not only among the ancient Yādavas in the North and Tamils in the South, but also among the valiant Rājaputra women in the central India. Only in the 19th century, *sati* was condemned as a social evil and legally prohibited due to the reformatory measures taken by Rajaram Mohan Roy and Lord William Benting.

Anyhow, from the historical point of view it is clear that *during the period of Tolkāppiyam and Puṟanāṉūṟu, this practice of sati was highly regarded as a symbol of chastity. Since Mahabharata also bears testimony to the same practice, it is not far away from truth to consider Tolkappiyam to be very near in age at least to the early redactions of this great epic.*

18.7. The sense of ōrai

Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai depended on A.B. Keith's view that the Greek word /hora/ meaning sign of the zodiac came to India in 400 A.D. and hence Tolkāppiyar who used horā (-ōrai) should have lived only after fourth century A.D. (Vide, **Tamiḻ Cuṭarmaṇikaḷ**, p.39]. The word /ōrai/ in Tolkāppiyam (Poruḷ. 133] has nothing to do with /horā/, since Tolkāppiyar used the word in the sense of play, participated especially by the young lovers and their companions. **The Caṅkam poems bear testimony to the same** [Akam, 49.16, 60.11, 219.2; Kali 75.4, 82.9; Kuṟu 48.3, 316.5; 401.3; Naṟ. 68.1, 143.3; Puṟam

176.1]. The metrical Tamil Lexican *Tivākaram* [800 A.D.] menat by the word ōrai, the congregation of people [aphorism 341]. Therefore, the ancient classical word / ōrai/ has undergone semantic change in the period of the Tivākaram, without denoting the sign of the zodiac.

19. The concept of Trivarga

The concept of *Purshārtha* (i.e. the objectives to be attained by a person), is national and found in the literature of all Indian languages. However, the *Kalpasūtras* lay equal stress on the three ends of life, viz., Dharma, Artha and Kāma, but are absolutely silent on *Moksha*.[102] *Amarsimha* in his *Kośa* refers to the concept of *Caturvarga* (adding the fourth end i.e. *Moksha*)[103] In *Tolkāppiyam* we have two references to the existence of *muppāl* or *Trivarga*.[104] In one context, he enumerates the three ends in the order of *iṉpam* (*kama*), *poruḷ* (*artha*) and *aṟam* (*dharma*) and in another place he states *"aṟamutalākiya mummutaṟ poruḷ"* (i.e. the three primary objects commencing from *Aṟam* (dharma). The absence of *Caturvarga* enables one to suggest that *Tolkāppiyam* should belong to a period when the fourth aim *Moskha* was not given prominence. Though at the surface level the concept of aṟam, poruḷ and iṉpam and the concept of dharma, artha and kāma may seem to denote the same, their nuances and individualistic features are discussed by the present author in the book. *Tirukkuṟal Kūṟum uṟuti-p-poruḷ*. It is clear that the religious and philosophical *speculations* were in their formative stage during the age of *Tolkappiyam* which is really down to the earth.

20. Religious and Philosophical aspects

Again with regard to religion and philosophy, *Tolkāppiyam* is both indigenous and alien. Some of the

orthodox systems of Vedic origin are to be traced in *Tolkāppiyam*. The basic elements of Yoga system which is considered to belong to the Indus Valley Civilization are found in the text and its commentary.[105] Though the concept of impermanence seemed to be Pan-Indian, belonging to the national stock of Indian philosophy, it gained its unique and individual status only in *Tolkāppiyam which subsumed* all sorts of transience due to the demise of a father, mother, wife, husband and warrior along with the decadence of youthfulness, wealth, body etc., under the nomenclature, *Kāñci*.[106] The ethical sentiments arising from the observation of impermance inspired the witnessing people to tread upon the virtuous path. *Vāyuṟaivāḻttu, Ceviaṟivuṟū* etc., mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* are the sources contributing to the development of Tamil ethical works. They are to be contrasted with the codes of *Dharmasāstras*. The occasional references to the caste system and social customs in *Tolkāppiyam* disclose the fact that the people in the North and the people in the South lived in hormony with mutal understanding. Any how, the religious and philosophical conditions as gleaned in *Tolkappiyam* are like the crescent moon and not like the full moon.

20.1. Absence of Buddhism

The voice of Buddha is not echoed in the aphorisms of *Tolkappiyam*. On the basis of the absence of Buddhist impact on *Tolkppiyam*, erudite scholars like *Maṟaimalai Aṭikaḷ* and Prof. K. Subramaniya Pillai proclaimed that *Tolkāppiyam* should have been composed before the advent of Buddhism. We have to modify the statement of the scholars in this way; i.e. Since Buddhism was first disseminated into South India and Ceylon through the

missionaries dispatched by the Emperor Aśoka (300 B.C.), it is just to suggest that *Tolkāppiyam* was composed in an earlier period. We have already seen that the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions (300 B.C. to 300 A.D.) exhibited the existence of some Buddhist monks in the South. The first two *Māṅkuḷam* inscriptions refer to the abodes dedicated to the Buddist apostle *Kaṇinantaṉ* by *Kaṭalaṉ Vaḻuti*, the officer *Iḷancaṭikaṉ*, the brother-in-law of the Pandya king *Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ*. It is probable that Jainism precedes Buddhism in the onward march to Tamilnadu. In *Marapiyal*, the last chapter in *Tolkpiyam* a sixfold classification of organic beings on the basis of the number of sensations and feelings has been elaborated.[108] Prof. S.Vaiyapuri Pillai was the first to suggest that this classification of sentient beings in *Tolkāppiyam* was due to the influence of Jainism. *But he did not seek the original Prakrit sources to confirm his view.* It seems that both the sects of Jainism viz., Svetambara and Digambara maintained the above classification of souls. *Kundakundāchārya* (50 B.C. to 50 A.D.) of Digambara sect and *Umāsvamin* of the Svetambara clan, the contemporary of the former (both belonging to South India) vividly classified the aforesaid six types of beings in their respective treatises viz., *Pañcāstikāya* (verses 110, 112, 114-7) and *Tatvārthasūtra* (11-25).[109] *If we give due weight to the valid and solid evidences seen in the foregoing pages to the antiquity of Tolkāppiyam, then naturally we are driven to the conclusion that the portion on the classification of living beings should be considered as an interpolation which requires a careful study.* In the *Marapiyal*, which happens to be the final chapter in *Tolkāppiyam*, some aphorisms (the contents of which were not found in the list of the themes enumerated in the introductory aphorism, as that sort of enumeration was customary with *Tolkappiyar* in *Ceyyuliyal* and other chapters) should be treated as

the contribution of the following generations. One has to wonder that the said chapter upruptly ends with tantrayukti aphorism without an aphorism of Puṟanaṭai. So, some important sūtras should have left out of the text. Due to the negligence and sometimes due to over enthusiasm, the original text suffered a lot. *Iḷampūraṇar was the first research-oriented commentator to point out such an omission of some aphorism in the text.*[110] It is natural that great works like *Tolkappiyam, Ramayana, Mahā Bhārata* etc., have undergone changes through the ages. Hence, textual criticism is essential to finalise the genuine form of the original.

It is to be remembered that it is imporopable to place *Tolkappiyam* in 500 A.D. as opined by Prof. S.Vaiyapuri Pillai, as that was the heyday of the *Pallavas*, and *Tolkappiyam* did not mention them even casually, but clearly mentioned only the ancient three Tamil monarchs with their individual insignia.[111]

21. Conclusion

As a result of the study on the historicity of the prologue, comparative analysis of the language structure of *Tolkappiyam*, the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and Caṅkam peoms, some observations on *Meyppāttiyal, Uvamaiyiyal* and *Ceyyuḷiyal* and the social and religious conditions as gleaned in *Tolkappiyam*, it is proper to conclude that the original text Tolkāppiyam, should have been composed not later than 500 B.C. The sporadic elements, the additions, the readings etc., need intensive study to be made in a separate article.

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4. *Iṟaiyaṉār* akapporuḷ (*Kaḻakam* Edition), pp.6-7.
5. S.N. Kandaswamy, *Paripāṭaḷin Kālam*, p.96.
6. Tolkāppiyam, Eḻuttu, 188, 192.
7. Ibid, 58.
8. Ibid, 99; also 84.
9. Ibid, 58.
10. *Collected papers on Dravidian Linguistics* (Annamalai University Publication), pp.176-177.
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13. *Puṟanāṉūṟū*, 15:18.
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15. *Tol. Col.* 4; *Poruḷ*, 65, 77.
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17. Ibid, 132.
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32. Tol. Poruḷ, 249.
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4. The Caṅkam Classics

1. Introduction

The *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls) and the *Eṭṭu-t-tokai* (Eight Super Anthologies) constitute the main corpus of Caṅkam Literature. These are considered to be the products of third Caṅkam, held at Madurai under the patronage of Pandya Kings, as preserved in the commentarial tradition of Iṟaiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal (A.D.150). Though many of the literary works of the early two Caṅkams were dwindled into oblivion due to the great deluge noted in the Kalittokai, Cilappatikāram and the aforesaid commentary, the available classics that withstood the ravages of time are the *Tolkāppiyam* (B.C.500), the earliest extant classical Tamil grammar cum poetics and the collections of poems noted above. The ethical text *Tirukkuṟal,* which has a bearing on ethics, state-craft and polity and has a section on love themes, has been regarded by many scholars to belong to Caṅkam period (B.C.500 – A.D.250). Internal evidences available from the Caṅkam poems and epigraphical evidences corroborate the tradition with regard to the existence of the academy of poets and bards.

The available Caṅkam poems are 2381 in number. They are of different dimensions, authored by about 475 poets, who hailed from various walks of life. Even Kings and Chieftains were authors of considerable number of poems. In the galaxy of Caṅkam poets, about thirty poetesses were included. Some of the poets were contemporaries while many of them lived in different points of time.

The Caṅkam poems possess love and warfare as the dominant themes as in the case of Greek literature. They

are original in their structure, substance and literary techniques. Their individuality, profundity and perfection were acknowledged by eminent scholars. Prof. K.A. **Neelakanta Sastri** observes.[1]

"We have in the Sangam poems a superb literature of incomparable force and beauty coupled with economy of telling expression."

The renowned Tamilologist Prof. **A.K. Ramanujan**, also a great scholar in Kannada, Sanskrit and English endorses the above view in a different language and in an expressive manner.

"In their antiquity and in their contemporaneity, there is not much else in any Indian literature equal to these quiet and dramatic Tamil Poems. In their values and stances, they represent a mature classical poetry: Passion is balanced by courtesy, transparency by ironies and nuances of design, impersonality by vivid detail and leanness of line by richness of implication." Such observations of unbiased scholars are many.

It is pertinent to note that the early commentators of Tolkāppiyam designated the Caṅkam Poems as *"Cāṉṟōr Ceyyuḷ"* i.e. the poetry of the perfected persons, quotable in the commentary to elucidate the apt sense of the aphorisms in the Tolkāppiyam. Kambar (A.D.1000), the emperor among medieval Tamil poets named them the *Cāṉṟōr Kavi.*[2] Mastery over the Caṅkam Classics was felt essential to become great poets, especially to compose epics.

2. Antiquity of Caṅkam Classics

A perusal of the *Kāvyādarśa*, indited by *Dandin* (A.D. 690), the court poet of Rajasimha Pallava of Kānchi and its rich commentary by *Taruṇavācaspati* reveals the

fact that Caṅkam anthology was known by the name *Dramida Sanghāta*.[3] In the text, Dandin refers to the region of the Cholas on the Banks of Cauvery with dense agara (sandal) trees, as an illustration for the *Desavirodhin*, since sandal trees were associated in those days with the hilly regions of other Tamil kings viz., the Pandyas and Cheras.

Professor S.C. Vidyabhūṣaṇa, the celebrated author of *The History of Indian Logic* clearly pointed out that *Dramida Vātsyāyana* (A.D. 400), the great commentator of *Akṣapāda's Nyāyasūtra* (A.D. 150) was a native of Kāñci. Because of his southern origin it may be suggested that he should have had chances to go through the *Dramida Sanghāta* i.e. Caṅkam classics, since his illustration to explicate the *Pūrvavat* type of inference is found in the Puṟanāṉūṟu (173.5-8).[4]

George Hart, one of the reputed western Tamilologists, with erudition in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, read the influence of Caṅkam Akam poems on the Prakrit anthology of love poems with the title *Gāthā Sattasai* (Saptasati i.e. the collection of Seven Hundred poems), compiled by Hala (AD 400), the Satavahana King of Andhradeśa, the neighbour to Tamilnadu. The impact of emissary poems of Caṅkam literature on *Kalidasa's Meghadūta* (A.D. 450) has also been suggested by the same scholar.[5] Kalidāsa's knowledge of Pandya Deśa is evidenced by his enchanting description of the country, glowing tributes to the Pandya king and his preceptor Agastya in six ślokas in the sixth sarga of Raghuvamsa.[6]

The rock edicts of *Aśoka* (B.C.300) and the Hāthigumpha inscription of the Kalinga king *Khāravela* (B.C.200) referred to the Tamil Kings. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, the Ithihāsas of pre-classical period in the

history of Sanskrit Literature, the commentaries of *kātyāyana* (B.C.400) and Patañjali (B.C.200) denoted the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Cheras, the great monarchs who held sway over the Southern India. **Nagasena**, the Buddhist philosopher and preceptor of the Greek King Menander (B.C.100) mentioned the Madurai city and also Choladeśa. Prof. R. **Sathianatha Aiyar**, a great authority on Indian History opined that the Caṅkam celebrity Māmūlaṉār should have existed in B.C.400, since he made a mention to the Nanda and Maurya dynasties who reigned the Maghada in that period.[7] The northern cities *Pāṭali* (Patna), Vāraṇāsi (Banaras), the Ganges and Himalayas are mentioned in the Caṅkam Poems, indicating the cultureal contacts existed between the Tamils and the people in the North. The archeological findings in various spots of Tamil Nadu which included the Greek and Roman coins and the references to the Yavana trade (Akam 149) and their artifacts establish the fact that the Tamils with their rich culture were well-known also in the West before and after the beginning of Christian Era.

The epigraphical, numismatic, commercial and literary evidences strengthen the hypothesis that the Tamils with their culture and literature thrived long before the advent of Christian Era. Let us venture to embark on a literary excursion into the Caṅkam Classics, identifying their primary trends and salient features.

3. The Trends

The word *trend* connotes a general direction, moving towards the change or fluctuation and also growth as a result of both the internal and external forces. Thus, the word trend indicates both the static aspect and dynamic spirit of any literature. It is very difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the static

aspect and changing aspect of literature, since the two occur in a sequence without any break, just like the flame of the light and the water of the stream. They are in a causal relationship. Therefore, while dealing with the major trends in the Caṅkam Classics, attention should be focussed both on the classical tradition and on the fresh changes, effected at least by some poets to get themselves freed from the clutches of literary conventions, breaking new paths of poetic creation. Any change may lead either to development or to degeneration, depending upon the nature of the creators and readers. Normally, change is meant for betterment.

Since everything in the empirical word is mobile and tends to change, literature as a social and cultural product would not be an exception. Fully knowing of this trend, Tolkāppiyar, the earliest known poetician has presented two genres known as *Toṉmai* and *Viruntu*. *Toṉmai* denotes the poems of old themes, whereas *Viruntu* relates to the poems with fresh themes in fresh forms. The literary trends are spontaneous and continuous removing the stagnation on their way.

The significant trends embodying the Caṅkam Literature merit a deep study in relation to its tradition, substance, structure and techniques. They also throw adequate light on the aesthetic aspects, effecting fresh delight and enjoyment to the readers. Let us concentrate on the threefold traditions which are associated with idealism, realism and idealistic realism or realistic idealism as mentioned in Tolkāppiyam and its commentaries.

3.1. The Literary Traditions

Classicism is characterized by the strict enforcement of literary traditions. Tolkāppiyar stated

threefold literary traditions, prevalent during his period. They are as follows: 1. nāṭaka vaḻakku, 2. ulakiyal vaḻakku and 3. pulaṉeṟi vaḻakku.[8] The commentators Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar defined them very well. Let us briefly present their views.

3.1.1. Nāṭaka Vaḻakku

The word vaḻakku means the perennial custom in vogue. Nāṭaka Vaḻakku literally means the dramatic conventions embodying the monologues and dialogues of the characters with the delightful scenes in the background. It aimed to describe all that was good and pleasant, projecting an ideal life. It is the idealistic literary tradition. The chief characters of Akam poems are the hero and heroine, endowed with all nice qualities. They should be equal in respect to their breed, wealth, character and affection. Their love-affairs should be presented in the sequence of *iyarkai-p-puṇarcci* (i.e. the natural meet of the lovers by the force of providence), *iṭantalai-p-pāṭu* (i.e. the union of lover for a second time at the same place where they first met with each other), *pāṅkaṟkūṭṭam* (i.e. the union of a hero with his lady love, effected through the help of his friend and *pankiyiṟkūṭṭam* i.e. the union of a hero with his lady love, effected through the efforts of the lady's confidante. *Nacciṉārkiṉiyar* felt that such an ideal course of love would be a model for those who pursued the path of amorous activity. *Nāṭaka vaḻakku* conforms to the idealistic tradition.

3.1.2. Ulakiyal Vaḻakku

This term denotes the worldly custom with regard to the erotic life. Poems which depicted the normal and routine course of love-scenes were created, following the worldly tradition. However, most of the Caṅkam poets

adopted the classical and ideal tradition, noted above. At least, some of them followed this natural tradition. **This literary tradition may also be called the realistic literary tradition**. Tolkāppiyar framed many rules for the delineation of idealistic life. However, realizing the actual conduct of day to day life, he drafted some prescriptions to relate the real life in Akam poems, provided that they meant to elevate and ennoble the people (Tol.Porul.214). This social concern of literature is well defined by the Western critic William Henry Hudson in the following passage.[9]

"We care for literature on account of its deep and lasting human significance. A great book grows directly out of life; in reading it, we are brought into large, close and fresh relations with life. It is fundamentally an expression of life through the medium of language."

The concept 'literature for life's sake' is operative in the minds of the poetician while permitting the ulakiyal vaḻakku for the portrayal of actual life.

Idealism and realism are used in the above statements not in the philosophical sense, but in the sense in which the literary critics used.

3.1.3. Pulaṉeṟi Vaḻakku

Pulaṉ means knowledge. Hence, this term is to interpreted to denote the scholarly tradition in which both idealism (*nāṭaka vaḻakku*) and realism (*ulakiyal vaḻakku*) are blended. It is the considered opinion of the scholars that the Caṅkam poems are replete with the elements of *pulaṉeṟi vaḻakku* which is idealistic realism or realistic idealism since it is the blend of *nāṭaka vaḻakku* and *ulakiyal vaḻakku*. The importance, attached to the literary conventions becomes transparent in the concept of *Marapu*, being one of the constituent members of a poetry. It is clear that Tolkāppiyar was an advocate of

Classicism, since be laid stress on Marapu i.e. tradition [Tol. Poruḷ. 636-639].

3.2. The Dichotomy of Akam and Puṟam

The words Akam and Puṟam literally mean the subjective and objective aspects respectively. As a literary term, Akam indicates the love aspects and the term Puṟam denotes the aspects of warfare and its associated themes. Tolkāppiyar classified all sorts of human conduct, let them be personal or public, under two heads viz. *Aka-t-tiṇai* and *Puṟa-t-tiṇai*, with seven distinct aspects of each of them. The dichotomy of Akam and Puṟam encompassing all human behaviour has been considered to be original to the Tamil Tradition by *Sivajñāṉa Swāmigaḷ*, the great grammarian, poet and exponent of Saiva Siddhānta. In a sense, the Akam and Puṟam constituted the *Dvivarga*, being the summum bonum of life, prior to the advent of Trivarga (muppāl) and *caturvarga* (nāṟpāl) in the annals of Indian Literature.

The people of the Caṅkam period led a hedonistic life, governed by ethical norms. They aspired that the attainment of honour and fame was the aim and end of life. From the concept of *Dvivarga*, the *trivarga* concept seems to have been evolved. In the evolutionary process, *Akam* came to be known as *iṉpam* (Kama) while *puṟam* was split into two viz. *aṟam* (dharma) and *poruḷ* (artha) as understood from *Iḷampuranar's* commentary.

However the concept of *mu-p-pāl* was not unknown to Tolkāppiyar and Caṅkam poets, though they preferred the concept of *iru-pāl* i.e. Akam and Puṟam, since it was the time-honoured tradition, very practical and realistic.

4. The Akam Literature

The total poems in the entire corpus of Sangam literature are 2,381 out of which the *Akam* poems amount

to 1862. The large number of Akam poems speaks volumes to the greatness of love in the culture of Tamils. The Caṅkam akam poems were not composed in a century or two. They were indited by different poets at different points of time over many centuries. They are of various dimensions. The particulars of these poems are furnished in the following table.

Sl. No	Anthology or Text	Compiler	Patron of the Compiler	Total Number of Poems	Poets	Metre with the limits of line
1.	Ainkuṟunūṟu	Kūṭalūrkiḻār	Yānaikkaṇ Māntaran cēral Irumpoṟai	500 + 1 (Poems 129 & 300 are lost)	5	Āciriyam 3'-6'
2.	Kuṟuntokai	Pūri-k-kō	- - -	401 +1 (307 & 391 are lost)	205	Āciriyam 4'-8'
3.	Naṟṟiṇai	- - -	Paṉṉāṭu tanta Pāṇṭiyan Māraṉ Vaḻuti	400 + 1 (234 is lost)	175	Āciriiyanm 9'-12'
4.	Akanānūṟu	Uruttira caṉmar	Pāntiyaṉ Ukkira-p-peruvaḻuti	400 + 1	145	Āciriyam 13'-31'
5.	Kali-t-tokai	Nallantuvaṉār	- - -	149 + 1	5	Kali-p-pā 11'-80'
6.	Paripāṭal	- - -	- - -	Eight Poems 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 20, 22)	6	Paripātal 32'-140'
7.	Mullai-p-pāṭṭu	Na-p-pūtaṉār (author)	- - -	1	1	Āciriyam 103'
8.	Neṭunalvāṭai	Nakkirar (")	- - -	1	1	Āciriyam 188'
9.	Kuṟiñci-p-pāṭṭu	Kapilar (")	- - -	1	1	Āciriyam 261'
10.	Paṭṭṉa-p-pālai	Uruttirankaṇ ṇaṉār (")	- - -	1	1	Vañci-p-pā 301'

Note: + 1 of the total number of poems denotes the invocatory poem on anyone of the Tamil gods *Murukaṉ*, *Civaṉ* and *Tirumāl*.

If the poems are long then the description of the different manifestations of nature, the historical anecdotes and mythological references occupied a predominant place. However, all these aspects contribute to the delightful delineations of the core love themes. If the poems are medium in size, the extra aspects would be optimum. In the shorter poems, the love themes are dominant, while the auxiliary descriptions are limited.

It is pertinent to note that among the akam poets who specialized the *Kuṟiñci-t-tiṇai*, Kapilar occupies the supreme place. His acquaintance with Vel̤ Pāri, the chieftain of Paṟampu Hills, Celvakkatunkō Vāḻiātaṉ, the king of Cheranadu with mountainous region and other philanthropists of Kuṟiñci areas enabled him to travel far and wide and acquire enough knowledge of Kurinci tiṇai which helped him to indite many beautiful poems on the subject. Similarly, Peruṅkaṭunkō, Nallantuvaṉār, Marutaṉ Il̤anākanār and Naluruttiraṉ were specialists in composing poems respectively on the themes of Pālai, Neytal, Marutam and Mullai. Among other poets, Oram Pōkiyār, Ammūvaṉar, Otalāntaiyār and Pēyaṉār specialized respectively Marutam, Neytal, Pālai and Mullai tiṇai.

5. The Classification of Mutal, Karu and Uri

Tolkāppiyar classified all the categories of empirical world into three groups viz. 1. *Mutal porul̤* 2. *Karu-p-porul̤* and 3. *Uri Porul̤*. The primary objects viz. land and time constituted the Mutal Porul̤.[10] The objects emanated from the land in a specific season were labelled as *Karu-*

p-poruḷ,[11] which included all the flora, fauna, avocations and objects of social and cultural significance.

Each tiṇai i.e. the geographical division of land is assigned with all the threefold objects viz, mutal, karu and uri. Tiṇai denotes both the land and the conduct of the people, ạssociated with the region.

It is essential to note that Tolkāppiyar did not treat God as the primary object. He placed God in the first of the list of Karu-p-poruḷ, suggesting that the concept of God was a later development in the evolution of cultural process.

The third category viz, *uri-p-poruḷ* includes all aspects of love which are classified into 1. *Anpiṉ-aintiṇai* 2. *Kai-k-kiḷai and* 3. *Peruntiṇai.*[12] The ideal love (sometimes it becomes realistic) forms the theme of Aintiṇai characterized by the mutual love of the partners. There are five features in Aintiṇai viz., 1. Union (*Kuriñci-tiṇai*), 2. Separation (*Pālai-t-tiṇai*), 3. Patiently waiting (*Mullai-tiṇai*), 4. Love-quarrel or sulky mood (*maruta-t-tiṇai*) and 5. Pining (*neytaltiṇai*). On account of this unique feature, Akam poems are called *Tiṇai poetry.* These features constitute the uri-p-poruḷ, the soul of Akam poetry. This kind of classification is purely original, since in the Sanskrit love poetry, union and separation alone formed the dominant theme while other aspects are not vividly portrayed. The Puṟam themes also were subsumed under uri-p-poruḷ, to be discussed in the course of this paper.

In the identification of *Tiṇai* in a love poem, Iḷampūraṇar presents some guidelines. If a specific poem contains all the threefold categories viz. mutal, karu and uri, then mutal poruḷ would decide the Tiṇai. If the poem possesses only karu and uri, then karu-p-poruḷ

determines the Tiṇai. If there is only uri in a poem, then automatically it becomes the determinant of the Tiṇai. The commentator presents an analogy with regard to the identification of tiṇai. Accordingly, if a person is said to be great, then the greatness is attributed to any one of the three factors viz. pedigree, education and wealth. So also, the tiṇai is to be decided by any one of the three categories viz., mutal, karu and uri. Thus, the commentarial tradition is helpful to understand and appreciate the literary concepts, presented in the Tolkāppiyam.

6. The Thematic classification of love

Tolkāppiyar classified all the aspects of love under three divisions viz. 1. Aintiṇai, the ideal love 2. Kaikkiḷai, the one-sided love and 3. Peruntiṇai, the mismatched love. The love commences in *Kaikkiḷai*, and if it further develops through the reciprocality between the hero and heroine, then it results in Aintiṇai or mutual love. If it fails, it may lead to *Peruntiṇai*, the love of the incongruous partners. Ilampūraṇar explained that *Peruntiṇai* was so named because it was found among the majority of people. However, the Caṅkam poets paid much attention to portray the ideal love.

6.1. The Themes of Aintiṇai

The dominant themes of *Aintiṇai* with the love-affairs of the hero and heroine in two-different stages or periods, subsumed under 1. *Kaḷavu* and 2. *Karpu*. The term *Kaḷavu* denotes the clandestine love of the hero and heroine. It refers to the secret love in the pre-marital period. The term *Karpu* denotes the wedded life, characterized by the local customary ceremony, as a token of social approval. The situations and contexts involved in the love affairs of the main characters and

also the secondary characters are vividly and descriptively catalogued in many aphorisms in the concerned chapters of Tol-Poruḷ.

In one Paripātal poem [9.12-26] the significance of the twofold aspects of *Kaḷavu* and *Kaṟpu* has been elucidated to the best understanding of the Vedic Scholars. The poet extols the greatness of Tamil for possessing the unique Aka-p-poruḷ tradition. The Kuriñci-p-pāṭṭu, according to its colophon, was composed by Kapilar to instruct the basic principals of love poetry, named itself as Tamiḻ to the northern king Pirakattaṉ. The name Tamiḻ and Akam are synonymously used, as understood from the two Caṅkam poems, noted above.

6.1.1. The Characters of Aintiṇai

The hero, heroine, companion, confidante, foster-mother (*cevili*) and pārppāṉ (the seer?) are the personae of Kaḷavu poems.[13] In the poems of Kaṟpu, the additional characters are the pāṇaṉ (songster), kūttaṉ (actor, dancer), viṟali (female dancer), parattai (harlot), aṟivar (wisemen, sage) and kaṇṭōr (bystanders).[14]

Tolkāppiyar mentions that the enumeration of characters is closely based on the age-old tradition. He has also specified the special traits of the hero and heroine and the bad qualities to be avoided.[15]

The text and commentary identified the suitable characters acting as hero and heroine and classified them into three groups, based on their social status and personal merit. The primary group includes the chieftains, lords and nobles (*talaimakkaḷ*) living in the different regions. Under the second group come the common people of the regions (*Nilamakkaḷ*).[16] The last group[17] consists of the labourers, craftsmen, attendants,

menials and the like known by the epithets *'viṉaivalar'* and *'aṭiyōr'*. However, the way in which they are projected in the text indicates their superior, mediocre and suppressed status. Glorification of the love-affairs of the first two sections finds a dominant place, while the third section is not totally neglected.

Tolkāppiar also enlisted the moods and modes of expression in the form of discourses, to be delivered by the concerned characters in the Kaḷavu and Kaṟpu life. The Caṅkam poets closely adhered to the norms of discourses (Kūṟṟu) and accordingly created their poems. Since they could not extricate themselves fully from the hold of weighty tradition, many of their poems seem to be types with differences. Innovative features are also noticed, deserving a separate study.

7. The Poems on Kaikkiḷai

The Kaikkiḷai poems are of two kinds. Those with the proper names of the chief character belonged to the Puṟam portion, while the poems with generic names were treated in the Akam section. Unlike the Aintiṇai love, the Akam kaikkiḷai was not assigned any specific region (tiṇai-land), since it was common in all regions. The characters are not too many. Either a hero or heroine becomes the main character of the poem. Normally, the depiction of a hero who wants to secure the love of a young girl, who is not mature enough to understand and reciprocate the love, becomes the theme. The hero, who becomes nervous, blames the parents and relatives of the maiden whom he thinks to be the impediments on the way of attaining her. In such a situation, he indulges in soliloquy and finds pleasure without any response from her.[18]

The commentators considered that the hero or heroine belonged to the labour class, though the

possibility of the members of upper class was not ruled out. According to Naccinārkkiṉiyar, some poems in the Kalittokai (61, 94, 108, 109, 112, 113) are concerned with Kaikkiḷai. The first of them occurred in *Kuriñci-t-tiṇai*, while the rest in the *Mullai-tiṇai*. The love dialogues of the hunch backed woman and dwarf are creative and hilarious (94).

In the Paripāṭal, the poets delineated some scenes of water sports in the River Vaiyai with fresh floods, providing an opportunity for the heroes with one-sided love. The phrase நறுநுதல் மகள் மேம்பட்ட, கன்னிமை கனியாக் கைக்கிளைக் காமம் indicates the nature of unreciprocal love.[19]

The poet Nalvaḻutiyār isolated some kinds of Kaikkiḷai when he delightfully described the water sport in the Vaiyai. He projects the awful scene of a youth, devoid of manliness and mental strength, gazing at the protruding breasts of a young damsel who sports in the company of her friends. The hero is named ஓட்டை மனவன் i.e. one with leaking mind.[20] In a different scene, the position of a frustrated young girl who lost her heart behind the person, passing that way. On witnessing her plight, the women-folk feared for the excessive love which they thought to be overcome since restraint and endurance were held to be their essential traits.[21]

Such scenes are true to life, though separated from the idealistic and imaginative depictions. They throw some light on the fresh trends in the process of literary creation. Let us pass on to deal with the Peruntiṇai poems, which also portrayed the real aspects of actual life.

8. The poems on Peruntiṇai

Since the land is not prescribed to the Peruntiṇai like the Kaikkilai, this type of love is common to all

regions (fivefold tiṇai). Most of the people's love belongs to Peruntiṇai and hence Iḷampuranar observed thus: "உலகின்கண் பெருவழக்கு எனப் பயின்று வருதலானும். அது பெருந்திணை எனக் கூறப்பட்டது."[22] He has also classified the chief characters of Perunitiṇai into three types.[23] They are presented here below.

1. In some cases the hero is older than the heroine. 2. In other cases the heroine is older than the hero. 3. In some other cases, both of them are old, proper time for totally concentrating on virtuous activities. Though there is much difference of age between them, the passionate love also is found in them. Tolkāppiyar also mentions the practice of the hero, mounting the palymyra horse (wooden horse). In the Kuṟuntokai[24] and Kalittokai,[25] details of the practice are noted. The hero used to hold his picture along with his belle's picture in his hand and mounts the wooden horse, coming publicly in the street. On seeing his plight, the people would indulge in scandal, inciting the relatives who finally would arrange for the performance of the wedding.

Some poems of Avvaiyār, Ātimantiyār and Veḷḷivītiyār in Kuruntokai and Akanaṉūṟu are to be treated under Kai-k-kiḷai and Peruntiṇai, since they are transparent expressions of their personal life, though the literary tradition does not allow. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar identified some poems of Kalittokai to be on Peruntiṇai. Among them, one poem is included in the Kuṟiñci (62), each in the Marutam (94), and in the Mullai (112) as per his commentary on Tol. Akam 13 and the rest in the Neytal (138, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148). They portray the love affairs of the attendants and workers in interesting dialogues. They mainly belong to the rural areas of the concerned Tiṇai. Interestingly in one poem (98), a righteous and benevolent king (whose name is

not mentioned in accordance with the literary convention) becomes the hero. The royal status of the heroine is not mentioned. In some poems of Paripāṭal some scenes of Peruntiṇai are projected.

9. Some Literary Features

Let us consider some of the literary trends, available in the Akam poems. They are of two kinds viz., strict adherence to the tradition and deviation from it. They exhibit the changing aspects of some features.

9.1. Fluctuation in the adoption of tradition

Adherence to the norms of literary creation is considered to be a clear mark of classicism. The Akam poets followed the rules of Tol. Poetics to a large extent. Some instances may be cited.

The words aṉṉai and eṉ-ṉ-ai respectively denotes the sense 'mother' and 'my lord'. Nevertheless, Tolkāppiyar mentions that in the literary tradition, the heroine and the confidante used to address each other by the word 'aṉṉai' and both of them used to address the hero 'eṉṉai'.[26] This tradition is maintained in the Caṅkam poems.[27] Similarly, the literary convention held that Kalippā and Paripāṭal were the proper metrical forms for the portrayal of love themes.[28] This convention is followed by the poets of Kalittokai and some poets of Paripāṭal. In the Paripāṭal, even theological and philosophical themes also become the subject matter of some poems. Most of the poets opted to use the *Aciriya-p-pā* to delineate the love themes, indicating the trend of deviating from the *pulaṉeṟivaḻakku*, promulgated in the Tolkāppiyam.

Makiḻnaṉ is the hero's impersonal name in the poems peculiar to the riverine region (மருதத்திணை). Nevertheless, this name also occurs in the poem of hilly

region (குறிஞ்சித்திணை).[29] Similarly the tradition holds that in the Akam poems of littoral region (நெய்தல்திணை), the impersonal name Tuṟaivaṉ should occur. Contrary to this rule, this name finds a place in the poem of Kuriñci-tiṇai.[30] The name ūraṉ of marutam occurs as the hero's name in Mullai (Akam 14). These are only some samples. Such trends should be explored in detail to understand the evolution of Tiṇai poetry. The classicism stood for safe-guarding the tradition while romanticism was a revolt against it, questioning the established conventions and institutions.

In the process of literary creation, not only the principles of *Poruḷatikāram*, but also the grammatical rules of *Eḻuttu* and *Col* should be closely followed. A close study into the language of Caṅkam poems reveals the fact that it has undergone many a phyilogenetic change, to be studied descriptively and historically to trace the development of the language in the Post-Tolkāppiyam period.

9.2. Anonymity of Characters

Tolkāppiyar strictly prohibited the occurrence of personal names of the hero, heroine, companion, confidante, stepmother, harlot, songster, dancer and others who are the characters of the Aintiṇai Akam poetry.[31] However, even in the poems of Kai-k-kiḷai and Peruntiṇai this tradition held sway as noticed in the Kalittokai and Paripāṭal anthologies. The commentators quoted some examples: Nāṭan, Veṟpaṉ, Ūran, Cērppaṉ, Tuṟaivaṉ, Koṭicci and Kiḻatti. These are only samples. The first two are the general names of the heroes of Kuṟiñci, while Ūraṉ denotes the hero of Marutam. Cērppaṉ and Tuṟaivaṉ are the hero's names of Neytal region. The names Koṭicci and Kiḻatti respectively denote the heroine of Kuṟiñci and the lady-love of any

tiṇai. A detailed study on the general names of the characters occurring in the Akam poems should be undertaken to understand the social and cultural background of naming them.

Naccinārkkiniyar also pointed out that the devas and nāgas being the super-natural characters did not become the chief characters since Tolkāppiyar categorically stated that the Akaṃ Aintiṇai was concerned only with the human characters. *It is to be borne in mind that in the Greek and Sanskrit literatures, the demi-Gods and gandharvas occupy a dominant place, and it was not so in the Caṅkam classics.*

Two reasons may be adduced to the anonymous nature of characters. The first reason is this: If the proper names are mentioned, then the poems become purely personal. They may become subject to public scandal. Even if the personal experiences of love-affairs are to be presented, the poets are advised to do so, keeping in mind the literary tradition of introducing characters with general names in order to avoid public criticism. The second reason is this: the poets of wide vision used to portray the universal aspects of life such as love, emotion, compassion, affection, patience, etc. Hence, universalism is to be deemed as a distinct feature of Caṅkam Akam poetry. It reflects the human experience, common to all, irrespective of region, language and such limited denominations.

Though Tolkāppiyar never committed himself with regard to the mentioning of the proper names of the place, where the love-affairs were materialized, it is understood that even the place names also should be stated in a general way, such as the hill, pastoral tract, grove, coast, riverside, etc. However, in the passages of love poems in Paripāṭal and Kalittokai, the proper names

Parankunru, Madurai and Vaiyai are noted to be spots of lovers' amorous activities. In Kuruntokai (166), the coastal city Māntai provided space for their love play. Such occurrences are to be studied in detail to isolate the trend in the portrayal of rendezvous, conducive for the lovers and their associates. It is pertinent to note that some poets concealed their personal names in regard to the authorship of their poems. They came to be known by the rare phrases, found in their poems. For instance, Cempula-p-peyal-nīrār, Orēr uavar, Aṇilāṭumunrilār and such other names may be quoted.

9.2.1. Neṭunalvāṭai – Akam or Puram?

Neṭunaḷvāṭai, an idyll in the Pattuppāṭṭu fulfils all the requirements of a love poem. Vāṭai means the chill wind that blows from the northern direction in the winter season, proper time for the co-existence of hero and heroine. Nevertheless, the hero leaves his spouse on some important errand i.e. leading a military expedition against the enemy king, residing in the war-camp of alien land. Since he conquered his passions of sensuous love with the objective of successfully waging a war against his rival, the poem should be classified under the Vākai-t-tiṇai of Puram genre. For him, the chilly season was good (i.e. Nalvāṭai) to accomplish his mission. However, for the heroine who suffered from the pangs of separation, even a day seemed to be a long era and hence, the chilly wind got the epithet Neṭuvāṭai-lengthy winter season. The delightful description of the palace and harem, where the desperate heroine was consoled by the elderly women, stating that the hero would return in no time and the depiction of the war-camp where the hero with his spear, decorated by the neem garland, followed by some body-guards in the midnight to console the wounded solders are wonderfully presented.

Naccinārkkiniyar, a strong advocate of classicism could not tolerate the occurrence of neem garland, decorating the royal spear, dared to pronounce that the poem did not belong to Akam but to Puram, since the neem was the emblem of Pandya who in his opinion none other than the Pandya King Neṭuñceḻiyan̲, who conquered the battle at Talai-y-ālamkān̲am, defeating the Chera and Chola Kings and their associates.[32] His conclusion is strengthened by the preceding idyll, Maturai-k-kāñci, possessing the same Pandya King as its hero. However, modern scholars did not subscribe to the commentator's view and treated Netunalvāṭai, a poem of Akam genre. These two views exhibit the fluctuating trend of Akam tradition.

9.3. Akam poems and Society

Literature is considered to be a social product. Hence, it has social relevance. The caste-system is totally absent in the Akam poems. The people were known by their distinct land and avocation. The classification of the people living in the fivefold regions is presented here below in a tabular form.

Sl. No	Geographical Region	Male	Female	Chief of the region
1.	Kuṟiñci (Hilly tract)	Kuṟavan̲	Kuṟatti	Nāṭan̲, Veṟpan̲
2.	Mullai (Pastoral region)	Āyan̲	Āycci	irumpoṟai nāṭan̲
3.	Pālai (Arid tract)	Eyinan̲	Eyiṟṟi	Mīḷi, Viṭalai
4.	Marutam (Reverine region)	Uḻavan̲	Uḻatti	ūran̲, makiḻnan̲
5.	Neytal (Littoral region)	Nuḷaiyan̲	Nuḷaicci	Cērppan̲, Tuṟaivan̲, Koṇkan̲

The geographical division of land into five kinds is unique in the Caṅkam **poems, unknown to the Sanskrit tradition.** It is to be noted that there was no permanent Pālai, which was an admixture of Mullai and Kuṟiñci due to seasonal variation. Hence, the concept of fourfold Tiṇai was significant and the world was known by the epithet Nāṉilam i.e. land with four divisions.

The synonyms of the male and female members of the fivefold regions should be collected from the Akam poems and also Puṟam poems to make an indepth study on the stratification of society. The role of Pārppāṉ as a companion and guide in the love affairs deserves a separate study. It is evident from the Tamil Brahmi epigraphs and Caṅkam Poems that the Brahmins, Jains and Buddhists made their settlements in various spots of Tamil Nadu. Slowly, their culture was amalgamated with the native culture. The amalgamation seems to be of the type of physical combination rather than that of chemical combination.

The Caṅkam Akam poems reveal the customs and manners, belief and faith, sports and pastimes, food and drink, clothes and ornaments, trade and commerce, arts and crafts, profession and avocation, worship and invocation of the society. Akanāṉūṟu (86, 136) described the marriage hall decorated with flower and light and the wedding ceremony in which the elderly women who gave birth to sons blessed the bride (and also groom) pouring water, flower and paddy grains and handed over to the groom by the relatives. The auspicious time is also noted. The menu of the marriage feast included the fried ghee rice and black gram gruel. *The absence of Brahmin priest is conspicuous.* The poems reveal the age old tradition of wedding prevalent in Tamil Nadu.

A poem in Ainkuṟunūṟu (257) refers to the birth of a female child as a gift of God. The epithet "நல்கூர்ந்தார் செல்வமகள்" occurring in Kalittokai indicates the precious value of a daughter who was treated as a rare wealth, acquired by the poverty-stricken people after a long pause.

9.4. Ethics and Values

Though the main theme in Akam poetry was love, the poets in the course of their depiction of love-affairs never lagged behind to spray some thoughts of ethical significance. The norms of ethics may be gathered from the Akam poems to constitute a manual on morals. The love, attained only through the proper means became the subject-matter of the Akam poems.

It is essential to note that love poems frequently insist on the importance of wealth. Especially the poems, that depict the scenes of separation of the hero from his better-half, related the paramouṇt significance of wealth which tempted him to go even to distant lands to amass wealth. The main purpose of earning was not for the simple purpose of maintaining one's own family or to become affluent, but for spending to the destitutes and other deserved people. The altruistic motive and philanthropic attitude are the admirable characters of the hero (vide, Kalitokai 2.11-22; 10.8-19; 11.1-5 etc).

Humanism, compassion, generosity, benevolence, hospitality, learning, nobility, friendship and the like are the main values, enunciated in the Akam poems. The importance given to exertion, enterprise and perseverance deserves special mention (Kuṟun 63,120, 135,285; Akam 155.1-3, 173.1-4-etc). The heroes aspired to earn enormous wealth, ranking with the fabulous treasures of the rulers of Nanda dynasty (Akam 251.5-6, 265.4-6). One poem refers to the custom of giving send-

off by the kinsfolk to the hero, going abroad to make opulence (Akam 351.1-4). Barter system was in existence. A separate study on the social ethics and core values of the Caṅkam people may be fruitful.

9.5. Historical Elements

The historical allusions are very many in the Akam poems. They are abundant in the Akanāṉūṟu. Since the structure of the poem of this collection is longer than those of other anthologies, the poets are very free to accommodate the historical anecdotes in their creations. They embody the military achievements of the kings and the chieftains and the installation of the heroic stones with the inscriptions of the name and fame of the warriors, lost their lives in the battlefield. The frequent references to the heroes visiting various states with different languages which were commonly known as *moḻipeyartēam* for the main purpose of trade, deserve to be studied in detail, since they throw much light on the commercial and cultural commingling of various linguistic groups. (vide, Kuṟun 11.7; Ainkuṟu. 321.4; Akam. 31.15; 67.12; 211.8; 295.17 etc). Among the poets who projected the historical events, Māmūlaṉār and Paraṇar deserve special mention.

References to Tuḷunādu (Akam. 15.5) Koṇkāṉam (Naṟ. 391.6), Vaṭukar who existed beyond the boundary of Vēnkaṭam hills (Kuṟun 11.5; Naṟ 212.5-6, Akam, 213.1-10, 281.7-8, 375.14m 381.5-7 etc). Kōcar (Kuṟun 15.3, 73.4; Akam 205.8-9) Kaṅkar (Akam 44.8) Yavaṉar (Akam 149.7-11; Mullai 59-61, Neṭunal 101), Āriyar (Kuṟun 7.3; Akam 336.22, 398.18-21 etc.) Nandar (Akam 251.5; 261.5; 265.4) and Mōriyar (Akam 69, 251, 281) merit special mention. A detailed study on the different linguistic groups would throw a flood of light on the social, political and also linguistic aspects of the Caṅkam period.

The victory of Pandya Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ at the battle of Ālankāṉam over the enemy kings viz., the Chera, Chola and the chieftains including Erumai-y-Ūraṉ has been eulogized by Nakkīrar in one poem (Akam 36.13-23). *Erumai-y-ūraṉ* was the chief of *Mahishamandala*, (Erumai-Mahisha, ūr-Mandala) identified with the modern Mysore. The numeral *nālku* meaning four in the Caṅkam poems (Akam 104.6, 334.11; Poru. 165, Permpāṇ 489) continued to be found in the cognate language Kannada even though it has been lost in modern Tamil.

The word *vaṭukar* generally denotes the people living in the north of Vēnkaṭam Hills. Nevertheless, in many of the Akam poems the word indicates the people of Andhra, another linguistic group of Dravidan family. The hunters of Andhra were known as *Vaṭuka Vēduvar* in Sundarar Devāram. They were skilled hunters engaging in highway robbery (7.49.1). The Telugu language was known as *vaṭuku* in the Kalinkattu-p-paraṇi (2.22) of the early 11th century A.D. The word *neyttōr*, meaning blood (Akam. 9.9) and *ukir*, meaning nail (Kuṟun. 67.3) are classical Tamil words. They correspond respectively to the Telugu words *netturu* (which related to *nettara* in Kannada) and *gōru*. With regard to the formation of *gōru*, the view of Robert Caldwell, the father of Dravidian Linguistics deserves to be presented. According to him, *ukir-ukiru-okiru-ogiru-goru* is formed due to the displacement and lengthening of vowels.[33] On the same principle he derived the Telugu words *vāru* and *vīru* respectively through the process *avar-avaru-vāru*; and *ivar-ivaru-vīru*.

Hence, there is a lot of things for the specialists in Dravidian Linguistics to study the Caṅkam poems from the linguistic point of view.

10. The Literary Techniques

The architectonics of Akam poems have their source in the poetics of Tolkāppiyam. In the first aphorism of Ceyyuḷiyal, Tolkāppiyar enumerated various components that constituted a poetry. Though they were common to both Akam and Puṟam poetry, many of them pertained to the former only. The literary techniques include the tiṇai, kaikōḷ, kūṟṟu (discourse) kēṭpōr (audience), kaḷaṉ (spot), kālam (time), poruḷ, nōkku, meyppāṭu, muṉṉam, vaṇṇam etc. Apart from them, he mentioned eightfold specific forms under the category of vaṉappu, to be discussed under the genres in the course of this article. However, in a preceding chapter with the title Poruḷiyal, he prescribed some techniques of Akam poem, known as Uḷḷuṟai and Iṟaici. An elaborate presentation on the canons of versification and the different types of meters, has been made in Ceyyuḷiyal. Tolkāppiyar, being a proponent of classicism giving full respect to literary conventions included *Marapu* as one of the vital limbs of poetry. *All these techniques are purely native and hence original.* In the Sanskrit poetics, the concept of *rasa, dhvani, alankāra, riti, vakrokti,* and *guṇa* occupied an important position. Though there may be some partial similarities between some of the literary concepts of Tamil and Sanskrit poetics, perhaps because of the geographical closeness, they are distinct, nurtured by two distinct literary traditions.

A close study on the principles of poetics as adumbrated in Tolkāppiyam in relation to their application both in the Akam and Puṟam poems of Caṅkam Literature would definitely underscore the literary trends of fluctuation and change, suggesting the aspects of revolting tendency against tradition and the

creativity and originality of the Caṅkam poets. In this paper, only some of the techniques involving the creation of Akam poems are to be treated. Among them Uḷḷuṟai Uvamam and Iṟaicci occupy a predominant position.

10.1. Uḷḷuṟai Uvamam (Implicit simile)

Uḷḷuṟai indicates the sense residing or hidden in the poem.[34] It is a trope in the form of a simile through which the implied sense is ingeneously and effectively communicated. If it is said in the overt language, it may hurt or disturb the concerned character. Hence, it is expressed in a veiled and refined language with the main purpose of correcting the erring hero. It is created from the Karuporuḷ, excepting god. An illustration is presented from Kuṟuntokai (6). The situation and context of the discourse of the harlot are clearly noted in the colophon of the poem. The harlot retorts to the scandalous talk of the heroine, audible to her confidante, implicitly indicating her innocent and immaculate position in regard to her relationship with the hero. She describes the native place of the hero and also of herself, situated in the riverine region. The opening lines which possess uḷḷuṟai are given hereunder:

"kaḻaṉi māttu viḷaintuku tīmpaḻam

paḻaṉa vāḷai katūm ūraṉ"

In this passage, the objects of comparison are explicitly expressed, whereas the objects to be compared are not stated but to be implied, being the uniqueness of uḷḷuṟai. The objects i.e. karup-p-poruḷ belong to the Marutam. Let us read the one to one correspondence between the objects of comparison and the objects to be compared through the technigue of implication.

Sl.No.	Karu-p-poruḷ-Expressed	Uḷḷuṟai uvamam-Implied
1.	kaḻaṉi-field	heroine
2.	mā-mango tree	hero
3.	tīmpaḻam-sweet fruit	the love of the hero
4.	paḻaṉam-pond	harlot's residence
5.	vāḷai-sword fish	harlot

It requires some elucidation. The mango tree [-hero] that stands on the field [-heroine] does not yield its fruit [-love] to the sword fish [-harlot], living in the pond [-harlot's residence]. But, the fruit [love of the hero] voluntarily goes to the swordfish [harlot] that readily seizes it. It becomes clear that the swordfish does not ascend the tree all by itself to pluck the fruit. So also, the harlot does not go to be hero's residence to win his love. Just like the mango fruit falls into the mouth of the swordfish, the hero falls in love with the harlot. Hence, the accusation of the heroine levelled against the harlot does not hold good. Thus, the discourse of the harlot reveals her refined and decent language, expressed through uḷḷuṟai, providing food for thought and perennial joy to the readers.

10.2. Iṟaicci [sense by suggestion]

The etymological sense of the word iṟaicci is not clear. In the normal usage iṟaicci means the flesh of animal and bird. Perhaps, in its extension of meaning it should have denoted the flesh giving creatures. Cēnāvaraiyar meant kạrupporuḷ by the word iṟaicci (Tol. Col. Peyar. 42). In the category of karupporuḷ the animals and birds are also included. Tolkāppiyar defined iṟaicci in three aphorisms and also prescribed the contexts of using this technique in Akam poems.[35] The natural scenes on the way of the hero's journey to distant places

to amass wealth, would remind him of his commitment to his family. They would tempt him to speed up his return to mingle with his sweet heart. Such scenes usually involved the fondness of the animals and birds. The discourse with the technique of iṟaicci is uttered either by the heroine or by her confidante. An illustration from Kalittokai [11.6-17] is given here below.

1. In the first scene, there is a pond in the forest by the side of the main road. It is a hot season. Only a little water is there. The elephant family comes there to appease their thirst. The male elephant first sends the calf to drink the water. However, the calf (out of ignorance) has stirred the little water which becomes muddy. Secondly it sends the she-elephant to sip the water. Lastly, it nears the pond to drink the remaining water. Such is the kindness of the male member of the elephant family.

2. In the second scene of the way side in the same forest, the cock-dove expands its tender wings and fans its loving mate in order to mitigate its suffering from the scorching heat of the sun.

3. In the third scene of the same locality, the stag offers its shadow to its hind which suffers due to the absence of pleasant shadow.

Through the projection of these three different scenes, the poet drives home the singular suggested sense that is called iṟaicci. These scenes, involving the caressing male-members of animal and bird family would naturally evoke and inspire the hidden love of the hero, tentatively suppressed for concentrating on his endeavour and enterprise.

It should be borne in mind that there was some visible differences between Uḷḷuṟai and Iṟaicci, though

they have their source in the Karupporuḷ. (1) In the iṟaicci only the fauna finds a dominant role while in the uḷḷuṟai both flora and fauna are important. (2) In the former, the fondness of the hero is reflected while in the latter, his cruelty and immoral behaviour are indicated. (3) The former materializes in the future, while the latter in the past. (4) Iṟaicci is expressed by the heroine or confidante. But, Uḷḷuṟai comes out of the discourse of harlot also.

Akam poems are also known as *Nature poetry* for the use of uḷḷuṟai and iṟaicci associated with the penpictures of various manifestations of nature. These descriptions with a purpose fulfill the concept *"Let Nature be your teacher"*, declared by the reputed English Romantic poet William Wordsworth.

10.3. Mey-p-pāṭu

Mey-p-pāṭu means the physical expression of one's emotions, feelings and sentiments. It denotes the bodily language. Tolkāppiyar devoted a whole chapter on this topic. The Mey-p-pāṭu are of eight kinds viz; laughter, weeping, odious [repellent and repulsive], wonder, fear, majesty, anger and joy. The fourfold bases for each of the manifestations are also enumerated. The classification of Mey-p-pāṭu pertaining to the kaḷavu and kaṟpu of Aintiṇai and those of Kaikkiḷai and Peruntiṇai has been made.

The Akam poets bearing in mind the principles of meyppātu have created the characters lively with their characteristics of specific sentiments and feelings. A careful analysis on the meyppaṭu in the light of modern psychology is essential to apprehend the creative process and characterization. Though the commentators Iḷampūraṇar, Perāciriyar and Nacciṉārkiṉiyar illustrated the different types of Meyppāṭu in their commentaries,

so far no systematic study on the Caṅkam poems with the traditional and modern approaches has been done. The striking differences between the concept of Meyppāṭu of the classical Tamil tradition and the concept of Rasa of the Sanskrit classical tradition have been pointed out by the present author in a different article.[36]

10.4. The Rhetorical Aspects

10.4.1 Uvamai

Tolkāppiyar devoted one chapter on *uvamai*. Uvamai denotes simile. On the basis of common features, found between the object of comparison and the object compared, the similes are created. Ilampūraṇar elucidated the twofold functions of similes. They are: 1. To reveal the unknown things through the known and 2. As a poetical embellishment to effect aesthetic joy.[37] Among them, the first aspect comes under the purview of epistemology, while the second aspect alone matters much in literature. Pērāciriyar held the view that simile or metaphor was not external like the ornaments of a lady, but part and parcel of the poetry. It is essentially internal to the poem. His view seems to refute those rhetoricians who paid much attention on the aspects of decoration and embellishment of the figures of speech, which he envisaged to contribute to the clarity of thematic expressions.

Tolkāppiyar identified different types of similes. The main types are named: 1. *viṉai* (action) 2. *payaṉ* (effect), 3. *mey* (shape) and 4. *uru* (colour). A list of the signs of simile is also given. According to him, the later development metaphor (i.e. uruvakam) was one kind of simile. A detailed study on the rhetorical aspects of Tolkāppiyar has already been done by the present author. [vide, **Tamil Literature and Indian philosophy**, pp.86-

124] But, the rhetorical features of Akam poems deserve to be studied to apprehend the creative skill and aesthetic sense of the poets.

The Caṅkam poets have created wonderful similes and metaphors. However in the Akam poems, there is a unique simile in which the lady love is compared to a city, which seems to be a product of Post- Tolkappiyam period. Some examples may be cited:

1. *Aḷḷūr a<u>nn</u>a en oṇṭoṭi* – Akam 46.13-14

2. *ārkkāṭu a<u>nn</u>a kuṟumakaḷ* Naṟ 190.6-8.

3. *āmūr a<u>nn</u>a ivaḷ Ainkuṟu* 56.2

4. *Iruppai a<u>nn</u>a ivaḷ Naṟ. 260. 7-8; 350. 4-5*

5. *kūṭal a<u>nn</u>ani<u>n</u> Naṟ. 39.10*

6. *tē<u>n</u>ūr a<u>nn</u>a ivaḷ*. Ainkuṟu. 54.3 55.2, 57.2-3.

7. *toṇṭi a<u>nn</u>a ivaḷ*. Ainkuṟu. 171.3-4 [Also vide, 174, 176, 177, 178, 180]

8. *marantai a<u>nn</u>a ivaḷ* Naṟ. 35.7; 395.9

9. *kuṭṭuva<u>n</u> marantai a<u>nn</u>a e<u>n</u> nalam Akam*. 376.18

10. *marunkūr-p-paṭṭi<u>n</u>attu a<u>nn</u>a ivaḷ* Naṟ. 258.10.

11. *vañci a<u>nn</u>a e<u>n</u> nalam Akam* 396.19.

In one poem even the harlots are also compared to the coastal city Kaḻāar [Ainkuṟu 61.3-5]. A hero boasts himself that even the earth and heaven would not become a comparison to his lady love [Kuṟun. 101]. These are only samples. It is beyond the cognition of the present author whether such a conventional simile is found anywhere in the global literature including Sanskrit.

The reason for comparing a damsel with a city may be due to various reasons. The affluence of the city may

be one reason. Just like the city the lady provides pleasure to the fivefold senses.

In the Pattiṉa-p-pālai, an idyll in the Pattu-p-pāṭṭu, the hero speaks to himself, audible to his spouse that he would not depart her, even if the whole of Kāviri-p-pūm-paṭṭuṉam, the port capital of the Chola kings was given to him. Such statements indicate the worth of a wife in the high esteem of her partner.

This fresh trend found in the realm of rhetorics continued in the earliest Kōvai prabandhas of Post-Caṅkam period. The imaginative power and creative skill of the poets are exhibited through the literary embellishments, which become the source of aesthetic joy. These decorative expressions and tropes, seem to be the precursors of different figures of speech, predominant in the epics and prabandhas. Among them *uruvakam, taṟkuṟippēṟṟam, uyarvunaviṟcu, muraṇ and pālkiḷavi* are enshrined in the Akam poems.

10.4.2. Uruvakam (Metaphor)

The word Uruvakam is not found in the Chapter on Uvamaviyal of Tolkāppiyam. Since Uruvakam was an inverted simile, it was not accorded with a distinct status. It was possible to compress a simile into a metaphor and also expand a metaphor into a simile. However, in the Akam poems Uruvakam was developed considerably to get an autonomous position in the process of poetic creation. An example may be quoted to illustrate the wonderful creation of metaphor from a poem in the *Akāṉaṉūṟū* (82.1-10). The great poet Kapilar depicts a delightful natural scene of the mountainous region. He finds an enchanting music concert in the manifestations of nature. 1. The western wind of the summer season that enters into the orifice of the dancing bamboo, 2.

the sound of the water-falls, 3. the tender cry of the stags, 4. and the buzz of the beetles respectively become the flute's note, the drum's sound, the pitch of the instrument which is shaped like the elephant's trunk and the melody of the harp. In the slopes with the bamboos, the dancing peacocks become the dancing damsels. The monkeys become the audience to enjoy both the variegated music and dance.

In this metaphorical creation, six kinds of Karu-p-poruḷ all pertaining to the Hills (*Kuṟiñci*) are properly represented. It shows the aesthetic sense of the poet and his wonderful ability to bring close together the nature and humanity. In this passage, the associative imagination is excellently and interestingly produced.

10.4.3. Taṟkuṟippēṟṟam (Projection)

The Caṅkam poets had intimate relationship with the different forms of nature. Hence, they depicted them to project the feelings of the characters. The hero frequents the suburbs of the heroine's residence to have union with her in the clandestine period. The confidante aspires to advise the hero, who stands by hedge-side near the residence to wed the heroine at the earliest. But she does not like to advise him directly. Hence, she speaks to the heroine in such a way, audible to the hero, indicating their desperate position. She thus addresses her.[38]

"O my friend! Don't worry. Proceed with me to express our plight to the hero. I fear for your pathetic condition, melting like the heaps of salt under the spell of rain. *The hill of the hero, dropping the fruits weeps over his harsh behavior against us, laments very much and its tears fall down in the form of a torrent! Indeed, the hill is so kind with us that it could not suppress its pain and strain."*

In this poem, the poet *Nallantuvaṉār* projects the feelings of the heroine and her confidante through the hill, as if it has feelings and emotions to relate their sufferings. Such expression is said to have the literary beauty known as *Taṟkuṟippēṟṟam* in the later texts on rhetorics. Dandin, the Sanskrit rhetorician of *Kāñci* named it *Utprekṣa* in his treatise *Kāvyādarśa*. In the western poetical tradition, it is known as "Projection".

In another poem of *Naṟṟiṇai* (243), the heroine who languishes over the hero's separation utters in a feigned mood the following words to her confidante.

"O my friend! In the slopes of the hills, roosting on the mango trees, the Indian Cuckoos (kuyil) raise their note, as if to admonish the males with wisdom not to leave their better-halves but to keep company with them."

In this passage, the singing bird is attributed to possess the knowledge of admonishing the erring partners. It is a clear instance of *Taṟkuṟippēṟṟam*.

10. 4.4. Uyarvu Naviṟci (Hyperbole)

The poets sometimes engage in exaggeration to project the greatness of a person, place or thing. It adds luster to poetry. Though the *Puṟam* poems are abundant in such overstatements, the *Akam* poems are also not lacking in this kind of rhetoric. An illustration is produced here below.

The hero stands in the precincts of the heroine's place. He frequently comes there clandestinely. The confidante likes to inform him indirectly that his ladylove is kept in her parental care. The parents without knowing the actual reason of the fading body of the heroine think that it is inflicted by Murukaṉ and prepares for propitiation through the native priest *Vēlaṉ*.

After narrating all that goes in the residence of the heroine, the confidante describes the region of the hero in an exaggerated language. She states that the fragrant smoke of burning the dried leaves of sandal trees in the slopes of the hills covers the whole of the clouds.[39] This statement seems to be exaggerated, though it indicates the prosperous condition of the hero's land.

10.4.5. Muraṇ (Oxymoron)

Some poets exhibited their creative talent by presenting two contradictory qualities in order to emphasize the specific trait of a character. Such expressions possess the rhetoric known as *Muraṇ aṇi* similar to oxymoron of the western poetics. It is called *virodhālaṁkāra* in the *Kāvyādarśa*. An illustration to this sort of literary embellishment is given here from Kuṟuntokai.[40]

The context relates to the post-marital period. The hero has left his better-half and spent his days with the harlot. Again leaving her, now he returns to his legal wife and waits for admission. He needs the help of the confidante who indicates the difference in his behaviour during the course of pre-marital and post-marital life. In her statement, the poet puts the device of the embellished expression of oxymoron.

In the clandestine period, the hero cherished even an unripe neem fruit as sweet as the sugar candy, just because it was offered by his lady love. The same hero in the post-marital period deemed the crystal water of the fountain, given by the same mate to be hot and salty. The confidante charges him for his difference in his attitude due to his inconsistency and lack of integrity and kindness. Such contrasting pictures are many in the Akam poems. Such statements are meant only to

admonish the male partners and to correct themselves to be consistent and loyal in their love towards their mates.

One poem in *Naṟṟiṇai* (28.1-4) opens with the contrasting depiction of the hero's behavior. "The hero was once like a fondling mother uttering sweet words, exhibiting extreme love by way of taking my hands and pressing them on his eyes and gently rubbing my forehead with his hands. It is a wonder how he turned to be cruel like a thief". Such expressions indicate the domestic and social conditions prevalent in the Caṅkam period.

There are many more fresh figures of speech such as *Taṉmainaviṟci* i.e. description of real nature, Vañca-p-pukaḻcci i.e. praise in the form of censure, *Iraṭṭuṟamoḻital* i.e. pun and *Coṟporuḷpiṉvaral* i.e. recurrence of the same word in the same sense or different meaning contributing to the aesthetical excellence of Caṅkam poems. They require an indepth study which is not attempted here due to paucity of space.

10.4.6. Pālkiḷavi (Personification & Apostrophe)

The word *pāl* meant a person as in ஆண்பால் and பெண்பால். Kiḷavi denotes the discourse. So, *pālkiḷavi* indicates the discourse of a person of *Akam* poems.

In the beginning of *Poruḷiyal (2) Tolkāppiyar* identified a specific kind of discourse known an *pālkiḷavi,* to be uttered by the hero and heroine. Confidante and step-mother are also entitled to deliver such discourses in which the inanimate things such as sea, hill, wind etc., which are imagined to possess life and sense-organs are addressed to respond to the weal or woe of the concerned character. Further the speechless birds and

animals are also addressed, as if they could understand the feelings of the hero or heroine. Their own ailments would be construed due to their deep concern for the sufferings of the addressing characters.

Such objects of natural kingdom are unable either to understand or to console the affected characters. Though they are commissioned by them to function as an emissary they cannot unless they are trained for the purpose. Nevertheless, their passionate outpourings, expressed to the objects of nature provide some sort of consolation and relaxation. In their discourse, the pleasure and pain along with any of the eightfold emotions would be involved. Such imaginative expressions are classified under 'pathetic fallacy' in the western literary tradition.

In the *Ceyyuḷiyaḷ* (192), *Tolkāppiyar* enlisted the different objects which are addressed as if they are endowed with the power of speech and listening. They include the sun, moon, knowledge, bashfulness, sea, coast, animal, tree, evening, bird and heart. The left-out things are governed by the phrase "அவையலபிறவும்".

It is clear that Tolkāppiyar presented a time hallowed tradition to be followed by the Akam poets. From his definition of "பால் கிளவி", it seems that he has already contemplated on the concept of personification, which occupies a dominant place in the poems of the Western Romanitic poets Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats. Wordsworth's *To a Butterfly'*, *'To the Cuckoo'* and *'The River Duddon'*; Shelly's *'Ode to the West Wind'*, *'To the Nile'*. *'Odes to the Cloud'*, *skylark* etc., Keat's *'To a cat'*, *'To the Nile'*, *'To sleep'*, *'Ode to Nightingale'*, and *'To Autums'* are some examples. The mythmaking power of these poets enabled them to treat the objects of Nature

to behave like human beings, having similar sentiments and reflections of mankind. Thus, even the inanimate objects become animate due to the wonder-working power of personification, which is considered one of the figures of speech in the western poetics.

In the Akam poems, addresses not only to one's own heart, but to the different objects of nature are delightfully made by the main characters and their close associates. First of all the objects, accosted by them may be briefly enumerated:

I. Bird

1. *aṉiṟil* (a bird characterized for its inseparable existence with its mate) *Kali*. 129.12.
2. *kākkai* (Crow) *Aiṅkuṟu*.391.1
3. *kiḷi* (Parrot) *Naṟ*.102.1
4. *kūkai* (Owl) *Naṟ*.83.4
5. *Veṇkuruku* (a kind of white crane) *Naṟ*.54.4; *veḷḷāṅkuruku* 70.3

II. Trees and Plants

6. *tiṉai* (millet) *Naṟ*. 251.11
7. *mā-t-taḷir* (sprout of the mango tre) *Aiṅkuṟu*.365.5; *Kali*.142.47

III. Other objects of Nature

8. *eḻili* (cloud) *Naṟ*. 139.3
9. *kaṭal* (sea) *Kali*. 129.8
10. *ñāyiṟu* (sun) *Kali*. 143.22
11. *matiyam* (moon) *Naṟ*. 196.3
12. *maḻai* (rain) *Naṟ*. 238.5, 248.9
13. *mālai* (the time of sun setting) *Kali*. 120.9, 10,13,16

IV. The residue

14. *kaḻaṅku* (molucca bean) *Aiṅkuṟu*. 250.1
15. *Kuḻal* (flute) *Kali* 129.19

16. *Neñcu* (heart or mind) *Ainkuṟu* 250,288,295,323; *Kuṟun.* 19,63,128,131,142,199,306 etc.,; *Naṟ.* 16, 44, 52, 77, 98, 103, 105, 126, 140, 384; *Akam* 9,19,79,123 etc.; *Kali.* 62.19, 87.14-16, 89.12-15 etc.

The high frequency of the discourses burst into pathetic fallacy earmarks a popular trend in the creation of *Akam* poems. A sample of the discourse (*Naṟ.* 196) in which the heroine addresses the moon, expressing her plight due to the hero's long separation is translated here below:

"O moon with full of rays,
resemble the mass of marbles
Dazzling with fresh and white light
Betwixt your rays
Seems to have baled out the milk
Mounting on the cervix of cloud!
No world that hides from you and hence
Please locate the place where my lord resides
Since you possess character and rectitude;
If not, be emaciated slowly
Loosing your sight unable to find"

The human mind finds solace through such imaginative expressions. Nowhere in the Akam poems, either the moon or sun, leave alone other objects of nature responded. Without addressing a human being who may even betray, the female characters resorted to take refuge unto the nature, just to vent out their suppressed emotions and feelings.

This sort of apostrophe continues in the post-Sangam poetry and also in the devotional literature of Pallava period. It is relevant to record that when *Kaṇṇaki*, the heroine of *Cilappatikāram* addressed the scorching sun in Madurai, instead of the sun's reply, a non-corporeal voice pronounced that her husband was not a thief, but the fire would burn the city. It shows a slight deviation from the general literary trend of Caṅkam poems.

Next, let us proceed to highlight some of the salient features of structural aspects.

11. Structural aspects

Structural perfection is considered by western literary critics as a hallmark of Classicism. The classicists paid more importance to the structure than to the substance. *Tolkāppiyar* prescribed elaborate rules for the various kinds of metres which were subsumed under 1. *Āciriyam*, 2. *Vañci*, 3. *Kalippā* and 4.*Veṇpā*. The canons of versification were the outcome of the author's close study of poetical works and also prosodial treatises which were anterior to and contemporaneous with him.

11.1. The Native Metres

The Akam poets opted to compose poems in *Āciriyam* metre rather than in *Kali-p-pā*, as promulgated by *Tolkāppiyar*. Only some poets created poems on love themes in the *Kalippā* and *Paripāṭal* which were originally the effective metrical forms for elegant portrayal of erotic themes. *Paṭṭiṉa-p-pālai* of the *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* collection is a lengthy love poem, indited in *Vañci-pā* majestically. Since *Āciriyam* and *Vañci* are homogeneous in structure, the *Akam* poet Uruttiraṉ kaṇṇaṉār preferred to adopt this form for the delineation of love theme. The unique metre *veṇpā* is used as a sub-member in the composite

compositions of *Kalippā* and *Paripāṭal*. These two metrical forms are unique since they function delightfully in a musical opera. In the love poems of *Kuṟuntokai, Naṟṟiṇai, Akanāṉūṟu* and *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, only monologues are found. Nevertheless, the same poets while inditing the poems in *Kalippā* and *Paripāṭal* contemplated that these metres were best suited to project lov.ely love scenes in which many characters were fascinatingly participated. There is a unique metre viz., *Uṟaḻkali*, meant for dialogue. There are five such poems in the *Kalittokai*. In one of them the conversation between a dwarf and hunch back is delightfully and hilariously depicted. *Akanilai Ottāḻicai-l-kali* has structural excellence. In this metre there are four limbs or parts. The first, i.e. *taravu* forms the prologue, while the following part i.e. *tāḻicai*, normally in three members beautifully substantiate the theme, while the third member is a link word (*taṉi-c-col*) connecting the preceeding parts with the epilogue, known as curitakam. The melody of the poems in *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* deserves special mention.

A detailed study on the prosodial features of Caṅkam poems in the light of the principles, enunciated by *Tolkāppiyar* has already been carried out by the present author.[41]

11.2. The Tamil Metres vs The Sanskrit Metres

All the four Tamil metres and their sub-members are purely native and original. They are not found in the Sanskrit Literature. Like the *Āciriyam* (also known as *Akaval*) which was very popular among the Sangam poets, the *anuṣṭup* metre wielded supremacy over other Sanskrit metres. Most of the authors of the *Upaniṣads*, the poets of *Ithihāsas* and *Purāṇas* utilized *anuṣṭup* cantas. The classical Sanskrit poets who came after them *Aśvaghoṣa, Bāsa, Kālidāsa* and others also adopted the

same metre for the effective and elegant expressions. The *Mandā Krantā* was a favourite metre with *Kālidāsa* who used it in his *Dūtūkāvya* i.e. *Megasandeśa*. The poets who came after him invariably used the same metre to compose *Dūtū sāhitya*. In the Tamil tradition, *Kaliveṇpā* was uniformaly used in the tūtū poems.

Among the other Sanskrit metres *Indravajra, Upendra vajra, Dodhaka, Śālini, Svāgatā, Subhadrikā, Rajahamsi, Bhujangaprayāta, Maṇimālā, Mattamayūra, Vasanta tilaka* etc., are worth mentioning. These are nothing to do with the classical Tamil metres.

A comparative analysis of the metres of the classical Tamil and those of classical Sanskrit reveals the fact that they belong to two distinct literary traditions with independent growth.

11.3. The Diction and Style

Tolkāppiyar calls the language, *centamiḻ* which means classical Tamil. He prescribed *1. iyal col, 2. tiricol, 3. ticai-c-col and 4. vaṭa col* to be the fourfold words, used in poetry.[42] The first two are purely native. The *iyal col* denotes the noun, verb, *iṭai and uri*. The *tiricol* denotes the synonyms and homonyms. The third indicates the dialects, current in the then known regions of Tamilnadu which were twelve. The fourth *vaṭacol* denotes originally the Sanskrit words. However in the course of time due to the settlements of the Vedic, Jain and Buddhist people in the South, gradually their languages viz., Sanskrit. Pali and Prakrit mingled in Tamil and Tamil words were also assimilated in them. Even the Greek words such as *śruṅgā* (சுருங்கை) and *mattikā* (மத்திகை) are found in some poems due to the contact with the Greeks and Romans. Also the Tamilwords *arici* > oruza, *pāṇṭiyaṉ* > *pāṇde, tamilakam* > *Damirica etc were assimilated in Greek*. Apart

from these words, *Tolkāppiyar*, talked about 'தெரிந்தமொழி' according to *Iḷampūraṇar's* reading.[43] The reading 'சேரிமொழி' was held by *Pērāciriyar*. The first one denotes the word, known to all, while the second denotes the "பாடி மாற்றங்கள்" as noted by *Pērāciriyar*. The word 'பாடி' means hamlet as in the case of ஆயர்பாடி, குறிஞ்சிபாடி and 'வியாசர்பாடி' of modern times. The word "மாற்றங்கள்" means utterances. So, in the popular genre, known as *Pulaṉ*, these words are allowed to enter. Many of the Proto-Dravidian words are noticed in the Caṅkam poems.

Further, *Tolkāppiyar*[44] spoke about the "செய்யுள்மொழி" the diction, proper for poetry and also "இழுமென் மொழி" which means the language flowing like a river without any impediment. Reference to "பரந்த மொழி" is also noted. It means the language for narration. *Tolkāppiyar* based his grammar on *Vaḻakku* and *Ceyyuḷ*, respectively denoting the current usage of the high people and the poetic usage. The presence of such dictions and fourfold words are found not only in the *Akam* poems but also in the *Puṟam* poems. They furnish the staple food for thought for the linguists as well as specialists in poetics.

Stock phrases, rare structures such as the attributive constructions, the patterns of sentences, the order of words in the poetic lines to effect harmony and force etc., deserve a separate study.

Style is the man. It is not the coat of a poet but his skin. Every poet has his own style and command over the language. The style varies in regard to the difference of themes. From the style, one can predict the personality of a poet. The Caṅkam poems can not be said to have produced from a single mould. The tastes and temperament, the power of creation, erudition in more

than one discipline, knowledge of more than one's own language and similar factors contribute to the variation in the author's style.

Tolkāppiyar states that the style of *āciriyam* goes with that of *vañci* while the style of *veṇpā* and of *kalippā* shared common features. The word 'நடை' in the text is elucidated by *Iḷampūraṇar* in the following commentary.

"நடை என்றது அப்பாக்கள் இயலும் திறம்".[45] Thus, style denotes the trait of the gait of the verses. The style is determined by different combinations of words and moods.

Even a particular poet differs in his style and usage of words in handling a particular metre. For instance *Kapilar*, the most productive poet of the Caṅkam period differed in his style when he wrote poems found in the anthologies other than *Kalittokai*. Similarly, *Nallantuvaṉār* also differed in his style and diction in his poems of *Paripāṭal* and *Kalittokai* on the one hand and his poems in other anthologies. On the basis of this difference, one should not rush to the conclusion that there were more than one poet of the same name in the Caṅkam period, since the similar thoughts, similar metaphors, euphemistic usages, *uḷḷurāi, iṟaicci* etc. are enshrined in the poems of Kapilar whether they are found in the Kalittokai or other Tokai.

Stylistics is a developed discipline in modern days. Therefore, the stylistic approach with sufficient knowledge in the overall structure and substance of the Caṅkam poems would definitely reveal the different patterns of style and also the reasons for such formation.

12. Folk-motifs and Oral traditions

Among the western scholars of comparative literature, Milman Parry considered that the oral

traditions were the source for classical literature. In his opinion the ancient Greek epics Iliad and Oddessy were originally transmitted through oral tradition for many generations till the advent of Homer who gave the epic form for the folk literature. With regard to continental literature, similar studies were carried out by H.M. Chadwick in his book, "The Heroic Age" and "The Growth of Literature". Following their theory, Winternitz, Siddhārtha (the author of Heroic Age in India) and others treated the Ramayana and Mahabharata which existed in oral tradition for centuries, till they were endowed with the present form by *Vālmiki* and *Vyāsa*. Even the various recensions of these *Ithihāsas* vary widely with additions and interpolations fulfilling the cultural requirements of the people, living in different regions of India and also South East Asia, indicating not a single authorship but a collective authorship, attributed to the oral tradition. Tamil Scholars including Prof. K. Kailasapathy ventured on the same vein to establish that the Caṅkam poems, especially the *Puṟam* poems were evolved from the oral tradition through the recital of the bards, minstrels, songstresses and dancers (பாணர், விறலியர்) till the poets (புலவர்) polished the folk poems with definite shape and perfection. **However, the Caṅkam poems in their present form could not be considered folk literature since they possess orderliness and classical perfection being the finished product of the scholarly poets.** Nevertheless, there are some folk-motifs, transparently seen in the *Akam* and *Puṟam* poems. Here, let us limit ourselves to underscore the salient aspects of folk tradition serially as found in the Akam poems.

12.1. Refrain

Refrain is defined as a phrase or group of lines repeated at the end of each poem or song. It is

considered to be a dominant feature of folk form. Such refrains occur not only at the end but also in the initial and medial lines in a considerable number of *Akam* poems. They are mostly found in the poems of *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, Kuṟuntokai, Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* in which other aspects of folklore are also noticed. It does not mean that they are not accommodated in other Anthologies which possess them in a lesser measure.

For want of space, some instances are presented here below only from *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu.*

1. *"vāḻi ātaṉ vāḻi aviṉi"* occurs in the first line of all the initial ten poems of the anthology (1-10)
2. *"eṉa vēṭṭēmē"* uniformly comes at the end of each poem of the first tens.
3. *"amma vāḻi tōḻi"* in the initial line (31-40; 111-120; 221-230; 331-340). This refrain also occurs in the *Kuṟuntokai* (77, 104, 134, 146, 230, 287, 296, 350, 361, 375), *Naṟṟiṇai* (158, 194, 289, 388) and *Akanāṉūṟu* (101, 141, 201, 235, 249, 325, 388).
4. *"avarō vārār tāṉ vantaṉṟē"* is repeated in the first line of the 35th ten of Aiṅkuṟu. (341-350).
5. *"aṉṉāy vāḻi vēṇṭu aṉṉai"* in the first line of the same text (101-110; 201-210).

The first occurrence of this refrain is found in Neytal poems of *Ammūvaṉār*, while the second in the *Kuṟiñci* poems of Kapilar, suggesting both of them derived it from the common stock of oral tradition and ingeneously used it in their creations. There are many such refrains deserving an indepth study.

12.2. Worldly usages (Spoken forms)

In the classical poems some spoken forms also got entry. Since the poets could not get themselves separated form the masses, somehow or other, some of

the spoken forms gained currency in their poems. Some examples are cited here under.

In the *Paripātal*, the word *ēṟumāṟu* (18.6) occurred in the sense of challenge, rivaling and competing. The commentator Parimēlaḻakar observed. "ஏறுமாறு என்பது பகைத்தற்கு ஓருலக வழக்கு". According to him, this word was in the usage of the people. The same word is also found with the same sense in *Maturai-k-kāñci* (672) and *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* (90.45).

In the Paripāṭal, *etirkutir* (8.21) is used in the sense of "obverse". Here again, Parimēlaḻakar elucidated that *etirkutir* was a worldly usage (எதிர் குதிர் என்பது ஓருலக வழக்கு). In the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* the usage *kavaḷam* (101.7; 114.3), *kuppai* (159.9), *cēri* (348.4) etc., were the words of the common people. They respectively denote morsel, rubbish and hamlet.

In *Kalittokai*, spoken forms are found. For instance, *iktu ottaṉ* (60.9, 61.1, 62.1, 84.18, 88.10, 103.31, 138.10), *iktu otti* (143.8, 144.2) may be quoted. The classical words *oruttaṉ* and *orutti* became respectively *ottaṉ* (one man) and *otti* (one girl) in the people's language. Further these words of superior category (உயர்திணை) should have preceded by the nouns of the same category viz., *ivaṉ* and *ivaḷ*. But, in their place, *iktu* (-it) of the inferior category (அஃறிணை) occurred. Thus at the syntactic level also, the erratic usage of the people is peculiarly found.

A separate study on the people's usages as enshrined in the Caṅkam classics would reveal the fact that the classical Caṅkam poets never forgot the masses and used their words also though in small measure to suit in due context of their poems.

12.3. Folk songs

Rural culture and urban culture are intermingled

in the portrayal of Caṅkam society. The natural descriptions and the delineation of folk art-forms which included rustic songs, games and pastimes are many. Folk music pervaded almost all the cultural programmes of the rural people. First of all, let us project some aspects of their folk songs briefly.

Pestle-song (வள்ளைப்பாட்டு அல்லது உலக்கைப்பாட்டு) was one of the prominent folk-songs, frequently referred in the Caṅkam poems. In order to mitigate the weariness of their work, the women folk used to sing melodious rhymes while pestling millet or paddy in the mortar. In the *Malaipaṭukaṭām* (342), the pestle-song of women folk when they pounded the millet is noted. In the *Akanāṉūṟu* (286.1-4), there is a reference to the pastime of young girls who used to take the sugarcane as the pestle and the white sand as the paddy and indulged in poundling it, singing the prosperity of their relatives. In the *Kali-t-tokai*, the pestle-songs find a higher frequency. Let us present one or two of them.

In one poem, it is said that the pestle was made out of elephant's tusk and the mortar was chiseled out of sandal wood. The confidantes of the heroine proposed to sing the glory of the hill, being the habitat of the hero who caused the incurable affliction on the heroine (40, 1-7). In the following poem also, the pestle-song is noted. The confidante, accosting the heroine expresses her desire to sing the melody during pounding the bamboo-paddy in the rocky mortar with the instrument of tusky pestle, and using the leaf of colocasia antiquorum as a winnow (41.1-4).

Swinging was another pastime of folk women. The songs while playing swing were known as "ஊசல் பாட்டு" (-ஊஞ்சல் பாட்டு) i.e. swing song. Some instances may briefly be presented.

In the *Kalit-tokai,* penpictures of the swing play and song are graphically drawn. It was customary with the hero to leave his lady love for some time in the pre-marital period. Subsequently, the confidante on knowing the arrival of the hero induced the heroine to engage in swing play. During such occasion, the confidante used to talk ill of the hero, reminding the long separation, effecting mental affliction to his mate. The technical term for such remarks was known as *"iyal paḻittal"* literally meaning censuring the hero's behaviour. Nevertheless, the immaculate and virtuous heroine would glorify the character of her lover. The technical term for such honourable remarks was known as *"iyal paṭa moḻital"*. Both the censure and praise centering around the hero become the theme of the swing-songs named "ஊசல் சீர்" (131.24, 34) in the *Kali-t-tokai. Naccinārkkiniyar* called the same as "ஊசல் பாட்டு" (*-ūcal pāṭṭu).* In the later Tamil, due to euphonic nunnation the word *ūcal* became *ūñcal.*

12.4. Folk dances

12.4.1. Tuṇaṅkai

One of the folk performing art forms was known as *tuṇaṅkai.* It was a type of group dance in which the arms of the performers bent at the elbows were made to strike against the sides. Sometimes, male-members also indulged in such dance performances. Especially during the festival time, *tuṇaṅkai* dance was performed. In harmony to the dance, musical drums were also played (*Akam.*336.10). In *Kuṟuntokai,* this group dance is specifically associated with women folk (31.2). The *tuṇaṅkai* was performed in contrast to the heroic sport of the warriors to add lusture to the festive-gatherings (31. 1-3; 364. 5-8). Such sports resulted in the selection and union of life-partners.

In *Naṟṟiṇai* the hero is described to be a participant in the *tuṇaṅkai* dance assuming the role of a girl, wearing the ear-ring and bearing the garland around his chest and the bracelet in his fore-arms (50. 1-3). *Tuṇaṅkai* dance is accompanied by the melodious songs (*Kali.* 70. 13-14). When the hero indulged in *tuṇaṅkai* in the company of harlots, the border of his blue cloth was torne due to the fast movement of their anklet (Kali. 73. 16-17).

12.4.2. Kuravai

Kuravai-k-kūttu was another kind of group dance which was very popular in the hilly and sylvan tracts. It was a circular dance in which normally seven persons of both sexes participated. Simultaneously they used to sing the glory of the hero. Almost all dances were followed by musical performances also.

It was the belief of the mountainous people to perform kuravai dance in tune to the background music in order to please the lord of the Hills (-Murukaṉ) who showers grace to the happy wedding of the lovers (*Kali.* 39. 26-29).

The kuravai dance in the hilly tracts was performed beneath the shade of *Vēṅkai* trees. It was customary with the performers and also onlookers to consume toddy which was kept fomented in the tube of bamboo (*Naṟ.* 276. 8-10).

In the pastoral region, the kuravai dance with the accompaniment of music was performed to earmark the victory of the hero who brought the ferocious bull under control in an open sport. The girls who danced the kuravai eulogized the bravery and wonderful skill of the hero with black frame and salmon-coloured cloth and also the tender shoulder of the heroine with full of smiles due to the rare achievement of her lover i.e. the bull-fighter (*Kali.* 102. 30-39).

12.4.3. Kaḻai-kūttu

Kaḻai-kūttu was another popular folk-dance, which was performed standing on the rope, twined between two poles. The dancers, generally the aboriginal people used to exhibit their acrobatic feats to the astonishment of the audience. In *Kuṟiñci-p-pāṭṭu,* the *kaḻaikkūttu* was associated with some local festival. The dancing girl dexteriously treaded on the rope with a fantastic and spirited motion, though fatigued due to keeping the time-measure (191-194).

Kuruntokai refers to the beating of the drums while dancing on the rope. In this text, the performers are said to be āriyar, a tribal people (7. 3-4).

12.5. Folk pastimes

12.5.1. Kaḻaṅku āṭutal etc.,

References to different types of primitive plays and sports are noticed. Especially, the fair sex evinced keen interest in such activities which formed both their entertainment and enjoyment. Apart from the swing play, ball play was favourite with the girls. *Kaḻaṅku āṭutal* was another pastime. *Kaḻaṅku* is the molucca bean. Small pits are made on the floor, perhaps in two rows. The girls on either side used to sit and put the beans of required number in such a way as to make one of them vacate, till the last becomes victorious. In later period, this play came to be known as *"paḷḷāṅkuḻi ātutal"*. In this pastime, instead of earth, the timber with caved pits is used.

Drawing figures on the sand was also a pleasurable play. Catching crab, bettle, butterfly, etc. and play with them was a familiar sport, perhaps with the young girls. The children used to play with rattle-box, as noted in *Ciṟupāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (61). Though it is a poem on *Puṟam* theme, it has been included here to project a comprehensive picture.

12.5.2. Ball play

Let us illustrate the ball play. The soft nature of the tender and fragile girl who used to complain to her step-mother that her body suffered and perspired even if she played for a while either a ball or a bean in the company of her young girl friends in the courtyard of her residence (*Akam*.17. 1-4). In Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, it is said that due to the ball-play of the fair sex, the sparrows which are insearch of their food in the stubble of millets are scarred away [295.4-6].

12.5.3. Sand play

In *Naṟṟiṇai*, a graphic picture of the sand play of young damsels has been drawn (172. 1-5). The girl in the company of her equals engaged in the sand play using the seed of *Puṉṉai* tree. Subsequently, they left the seed, hidden in the sand which in due course of time fructified into a tiny plant. It was nursed by the girl (heroine) who poured ghee and milk and nurtured it. The plant grew into a tree, spreading shade in the backyard. On seeing its growth, the mother used to remind that the *Puṉṉai* stood as sister in relation to her daughter (-now the heroine 172. 1-5). She felt shy to talk to her talk to her lover in the presence of her sister i.e. the *Puṉṉai* tree. The love and affection of the girls exhibited even to the plant, grown out of their sand play require special mention. Kālidāsa in his immortal drama Sākuntala made the heroine express love to plants and trees for which she poured only water. Nevertheless, the portrayal of love to the nature in the Caṅkam poem and Sākuntalam differs considerably.

12.5.4. Bull-fight

Bull-fight was a favourite theme in *Mullai-k-kali*. The description of the ferocious bulls with different hues, the strength, bravery and audacity of the youthful

herdsmen in subjugating them and the determination of the beautiful and tenderful pastoral girls to wed the winners in the game are delightfully delineated in *Mullai-k-kali*.

12.6. Proverbs

In the Akam poems, many proverbs are found. It is essential to note that Tolkāppiyar recognized proverb (*mutu col, mutu moḻi*) to be one among the sevenfold genres of literary composition (*Tol. Poruḷ.* 354). He defined that a proverb should be subtle, brief, bright and soft, indicating the implied sense based on reasoning (*Tol. Poruḷ.* 479).

Since proverbs were the wisest sayings of the elderly and experienced people, Tolkāppiyar gave them a literary status. The Caṅkam poets used them in the course of their discourses or narrations to suit the context in order to give elegance and force to the expression.

In *Akanāṉūṟu*, the usage *paḻamoḻi* denoting a proverb is found in two poems (66.5; 101.3). The terms *mulumoḻi* and *paḻamoḻi* are semantically same. However, in the former word, mutu denotes not only old but also wisdom. In the later word, its synonym *paḻa* denotes only old. Nevertheless, wit and wisdom are considered to be the outcome of personal experience and reflection over a long span of life. It is the product of a society over many generations.

In one poem (Akam 66. 1-5) the proverb explicates the belief of the people that the terrestrial glory and celestial happiness are attained by those who gave birth to children. ("சிறுவர்ப் பயந்த செம்மலோர்"). It indicates the glory of household life and the significance of ideal children.

In another poem of the same anthology, the utterance *"immai naṉṟucey maruṅkil tītuil"* (101. 1-2) is quoted as a proverb, which according to the poet *Māmūlaṉār* gained currency from time immemorial. The sense of the proverb is associated with the people's belief that those who perform good deeds need not suffer.

In *Kuṟuntokai,* proverbial sayings are very many. Kapilar's utterance *"arikari poyttal āṉṟōrkk(u) illai"* (184.1) seems to be an adage. It means that the erudite and wise person never offer false-witness. They never deny the fact that they personally witnessed. Another poet commences his poem with the maxim, *"ītalum tuyttalum illōrkku il"* (63.1). It means that pauper cannot practise philanthropy and enjoy life. *Peruṅkaṭuṅkō* quotes a proverb, *"Uḷḷatu citaippōr uḷar eṉappaṭār"* (283.1). It explicates that those who spend the deposit of ancestral wealth will not be treated as those who have exertion and effort. Thus, it denotes the significance of one's own endeavour and enterprise. The following statement *"illōr vālkkai iraviṉum iḷivu"* (283.2) is also deemed as an adage, meaning that the life of the destitues is more ridiculous than that of the beggars. All these maxims lay stress on diligence, exertion and zeal. The same poet also exhorts through a proverb that enterprise alone is the animating principle of the men-folk ("வினையே ஆடர்க்கு உயிரே", 135.1). In the same anthology, "நன்மொழிக்கு அச்சம் இல்லை" (392.2) is a proverb. It means: no fear for good words.

One poem provides a proverb: *ārntōr vāyil tēṉum puḷikkum* (354.2). It means even honey turns to sour, if it is consumed frequently. In a later period, the proverb *paḻaka-p-paḻaka-p-pālum puḷikkum* occupied its place. It indicates that even milk turns to be sour if consumed

often. All these adages become equivalent to the western proverb *"familiarity breeds contempt"*.

In other anthologies also familiar and also unfamiliar proverbs and maxims are enshrined. Hence, a detailed study on the subject would yield good result, throwing much light on the social, mental and cultural aspects of the people.

13. Beliefs and Rituals

The people held some beliefs. They performed certain rituals to get mental satisfaction and peace. A brief account on their beliefs and rituals is made here below.

13.1. Aṇaṅku

Aṇaṅku was a female deity, supposed to reside in the hills, woods, ghats etc. People feared for the deity since it would afflict pain and sometimes took away one's life by tempting one to pursue the course of lust or by other means. *Toṇṭi*, a coastal city was pestered by this deity (Ainkuṟu. 174.1).

The step-mother advised the heroine not to ramble in the company of her friends, since the *aṇaṅku* resided in the well-guarded old city (*Akam*. 7. 4-5). Sometimes, the heroine is compared to the *aṇaṅku*, residing in the groves, adjacent to the sea (*Naṟ*. 155.6). It was a belief that the aṇaṅku would stroll over the streets in the dead night (Ibid. 319.6). Though the deity was unseen, people believed that it was fragrant (*Kali*. 71.20).

13.2. Cūr

Cūr was also considered to be a malignant deity (*Kuṟiñci*. 255). *Cūrmakaḻ* and *Cūraramakaḷir* also denoted the same deity. It resided in the slopes of the hills (*Naṟ*. 259.9; *Kuṟun*. 52. 1-2) and also in the mountain pools and

springs (*Akam*. 198. 14-17). The name *cūrara makaḷir* (*Akam*. 32.7; 162.35; *Naṟ*. 34. 4-5) denotes the celestial maidens, visiting the groves in the hilly regions.

The hero in the pre-marital period used to swear on the celestial maidens in the ghats of the habitat of the heroine that he would wed her soon (*Kuṟun*. 53. 5-7). If he would not fulfil his oath, they would afflict pain.

13.3. Kolli-p-Pāvai

Kolli-p-Pāvai was also a female deity. It was chiselled out in the Kolli hills. People believed that it had the rare power of fascinating the passers by. If they looked at it, they would loose their life.

The heroine was compared to Kolli-p-Pāvai, since she possessed the enchanting beauty and bewitching look (*Kuṟun*.89. 4-7; 100. 5-7; *Naṟ*. 185.10-12; 192. 8-11; *Akam*. 62.13-16).

People also believed in the existence of demons, ghouls and ghosts. Perhaps when they encountered with fearful sights in the dense forests and hills, some horrible and terrible visions would have made them imagine the existence of such beings.

Apart from the belief in the petty deities, the people had trust in the omens and dreams. They may be briefly presented.

13.4. Omens

Birds watching enabled the ancients to derive some conclusions with regard to the future-reading. Thus, the belief in augury became very popular among the ancient people.

The chirp of lizard in a particular location was also considered an augury. The heroine becomes emaciated

due to the separation of the hero. In order to console her, the confidante offers hope by telling that the lizard in the long wall of her residence chirped well indicating the arrival of the hero (*Naṟ*. 246. 1-2). In Kalittokai also such a good augury is noted ("மனைவயின் பல்லியும் பாங்கொத்து இசைத்தன, 11. 20-21).

13.5. Throb of the limb

Throbbing of a particular limb was treated to foretell the future. For the males, the pulsation of right eye, brow, arm, etc. augured fortune. For the females, the pulsation of left limbs was a good sign. In Kalittokai, the throbbing of left eye indicated the arrival of the separated hero after a long time.[46]

13.6. Dreams

People had belief in dreams also. Sometimes, happenings contrary to the dreams would take place. Such dreams were treated *"poy-k-kaṉā"* i.e. false dream (*Kuṟun*. 30.3; 147. 3-4).

The heroine expresses her hope that the hero would soon visit her in person since in her dream both of them indulged in love play and pleasant conversation (*Kali*. 128. 23-26).

13.7. Viricci kēṭṭal

People believed in the utterance of an invisible speaker. Such utterance was known as *viricci*, which in later times became *acarīri* i.e. the voice of heaven or unseen person. In *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu* a graphic description of the process of awaiting for the invisible voice or utterance is found. The old matrons bearing vessels with rice and fragrant jasmine buds went to the purlieus of a well-guarded city and offered them, praying for getting good words of omen (9-11). If some sound expressing

the return of the kinsfolk is heard from some neighbourhood, then it may be presumed that the expected hero would return soon. Thus the good words i.e. *viricci* offered consolation and hope to the desolate heroine.

13.8. Kaḻaṅku paṭuttal

One type of divination or sooth saying was known as *kaḻaṅku paṭuttal*. With the help of molucca-beans spread on the sand, the exorcist would try to tell one's fortune. The affliction, caused to the heroine was due to the hero's postponement of wedding. However, the exorcist *Vēlaṉ* pronounced that Murukaṉ, the Lord of Hills, caused the pain. His utterance was also taken for good, since it avoided the blame, cast on the family of the heroine. If the priest uttered that the affliction was due to the clandestine love-affair of the hero, naturally it would became a subject for public scandal. Hence, the pronouncement of Vēḻaṉ guarded the family prestige (Ainkuṟu. 249). Sometimes, *akavaṉmakaḷ* officiated as a sorceress (*Kuṟun*.23; *Naṟ.288. 4-7; Akam*.98. 1-10).

13.9. Veṟiyātal

The womenfolk on seeing the physical change of the heroine in the premarital period would seek the help of Vēlaṉ to find out the real cause of her emaciation and to find remedy.

The native priest Vēlaṉ, possessed by Murukaṉ would indulge in divination. He used to place the dried beans before Murukaṉ and with the help of a small rod in his hand and also kaṉṉam (an image to cure the disease) used to divine the future (*Naṟ*. 47. 8-11).

Detailed descriptions of *Veṟiyāṭṭu*, occurring in the Akam poems indicate its popularity and the people's

faith on it (Akam.114. 1-3; 182. 16-17; 195. 12-15; *Naṟ*.34. 8-11; 268. 8-9; *Kuṟun*.53. 1-4; 360. 1-4; etc.). Since the native priest is praised to know the future, the people's faith in his future reading becomes evident ("ஆகுவது அறியும் முதுவாய் வேலன்", Akam. 195. 14).

13.10. The rest

The birth day celebration was marked with pomp and splendor. The ceremony, related to the naming of a child was in vogue. Normally, the male-child was named after its grand father (*Ainkuṟu*. 403.3; Kali. 81.35).

The water-festival and the offering of flowers, golden snails, crabs, sword fishes, paddy etc., to the river Vaiyai are noted in the *Paripāṭal*. They anticipated that the river in turn would give good yields (10. 85-86). The virgins observed penance in the month of *Mārkaḻi*, taking bath in the river Vaiyai during the pre-dawn period. They aspired for the seasonal rain and prosperity of the country (*Pari*. 11. 76-81). The women wished the inseparable union with their life-partners (11. 115-121).

Such other rituals and beliefs of the people are to be studied in detail from sociological and anthropological points of view.

14. Literary genres in Akam poems

Genre denotes a particular type of literary or art form. In the Caṅkam classics, different types of genres are found. All of them may be subsumed under two divisions viz., *Akam* and *Puṟam*. Even within these divisions, there are various types. First of all, let us consider the genres, noticed in the Akam poems.

Within the *Akam* genre, each *tiṇai* deserves to be treated as a distinct genre. Thus, in *Ainkuṟunūṟu*, there are the *Marutam* genre, *Neytal* genre, *Kuriñci* genre, *Pālai*

genre and *Mullai* genre. Each of them contains one hundred poems, constituting a century named *Marutam nūru; Neytal nūru* etc. The Tamil term *nūru* i.e. hundred was replaced by the name *śataka* in the *Pallave* period.

A cluster of ten poems constituted a distinct genre in *Ainkuṟunūṟu*. Each tiṇai secion of this anthology comprises ten decades invariably. Thus the decad deserves to be distinguished as a separate genre. For instance, *Vēṭkai-p-pattu, Vēla-p-pattu, Kaḷavaṉ pattu, Tōḻikki uraitta pattu, Pulavi-p-pattu* etc. may be quoted. The decad as a genre is also seen in *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* in which each of the ten Cera kings got a decad of laudatory poems, indited by ten different poets. At present the first and last decades of *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* are lost beyond recovery. This genre became very popular in the ancient period, as witnessed by the 133 Chapters of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, each of which containing ten couplets on different themes. In the period of devotional literature, the genre *Pattu* was also known as *patikam*. In the Sanskrit literary tradition, the genre *pattu* and *patikam* came to be known as *dasaka* which, according to the specialists emerged out as a literary genre only in the 12th century A.D.

In Kaliṭtokai also the genre Tiṇai is dominantly noticed. *Pālai, Kuriñci, Marutam, Mullai* and *Neytal* of this anthology are actually different genres of *Akam* poetry.

In *Akanāṉūṟu*, there is a pattern, uniformly followed in the identification of *Akam* genre. The poems with odd numbers such as 1, 3, 5, 7, 9; 11, 13, 15, 17, 19 etc. invariably belong to *Pālai-tiṇai*. The poems with numbers 2, 8; 12, 18; 22, 28 and the like came under *Kuriñci-tiṇai*. The poems with the numbers 4, 14, 24 and the like fall under *Mullai Tiṇai*. The poems with numbers

10, 20, 30 and the like came under *Neytal*. Thus, there are 200 poems of *Pālai*, 80 poems on *Kuriñci*, 40 poems each for *Mullai, Marutam* and *Neytal*. This sort of genre classification indicates the aesthetic sense of the compiler.

In the remaining anthologies of *Akam* themes, the poems are complied in a different way and hence the genric aspect is not easily deciphered. However, attempt should be made to find out their genric pattern.

It is interesting to note the anaphoric structure is also found in Caṅkam literature. In the *Toṇṭi-p-pattu* of *Ainkuṟunūṟu* (171-180), all the poems are linked through the device of anaphora. The ancient commentator of this text neamed it *Colporuḷ toṭarcci*. In the fourth ten of Patiṟṟupattu also this sort of anaphoric structure is interestingly noticed. Hence, it becomes clear that some poets of *Akam* and *Puṟam* poetry evinced interest and enjoyed delight in creating such structures. In the later periods, such poetical structure came to be known as Antāti i.e. the last letter, word or phrase of the previous poem is made to commence the following poem - thus the whole series of poems are intertwined to make a garland. Though the word *antāti* is Sanskrit, it is a wonder to note that in the Sanskrit literature, there is no literary work of antāti type.[47]

15. The Puṟam Literature

The *Puṟam* anthologies are chiefly the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu*. Some poems in the *Paripāṭal* and *Pattu-p-pāttu* have *Puṟam* themes. The particulars of *Puṟam* literature are provided here below.

Sl No.	Anthology or Idyll	Poets	Total number of poems	Metre
1.	Puranānūru	Many poets	400 poems 267, 268 are lost	Āciriyam & Vañci
2	Patiṟṟu-p-pattu	8 poets	80 poems (first and last tens are lost)	Āciriyam & Vañci
3	Paripāṭal	10 poets	Puram (14 poems) on Tirumal and Cevvel	Paripāṭal
4	Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai	Nakkirar	1 poem (317 metrical lines)	Āciriyam
5.	Porunarāṟṟu-p-paṭai	Muṭa-t-tāmakkaṇṇiyār	1 poem (248 metrical lines)	Āciriyam
6	Cirupāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai	Nattattanār	1 poem (269 metrical lines)	Āciriyam
7	Perumpāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai	Uruttiraṅkaṇṇaṉār	1 poem (500 metrical lines)	Āciriyam
8	Maturaikkāñci	Māṅkuṭi Marutanār	1 poem (782 metrical lines)	Vañci
9.	Mullaipaṭṭu kaṭām	Peruṅkaucikaṉār	1 poem (583 metrical lines)	Āciriyam

Details of the compilers and their patrons of the aforesaid texts are not available. The invocatory poem to *Puṟanāṉūṟu* is composed by *Peruntevaṉār* on Lord Siva. Since the beginning section in *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* is lost, the invocatory poem of this collection is not available. However, an invocatory poem on Siva by an unknown poet, quoted in the commentary of *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* (Tol. *Puṟat*. 26) has been considered to belong to *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* by some scholars. The total number of *Puṟam* poems are 500. Though they are less than the *Akam* poems, most of them are very lengthy.

16. The themes of Puṟam poems

In the *Puṟattiṇai-y-iyal*, Tolkāppiyar well-defined the themes of *Puṟam* poems. He classified all of them

into seven categories. viz, *Veṭci, Vañci, Uḻiñai, Tumpai, Vākai, Kāñci* and *Pāṭāṇ*. Among them the first four are directly concerned with warfare. In the ancient times, cattle-lifting was the commencement of war between two countries. Since in the agricultural country cattle was considered to be the source of wealth, the warriors with the command of their kings engaged in cattle-lifting, which was technically called *Veṭci*. The fight to retrieve the cattle was known as *karantai*. During the period of Tolkāpiyar *karantai* and *veṭci* were considered to be the two sides of a coin. However, in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, this trend was changed. *Karantai* was treated as a separate *puṟa-t-tiṇai* (259-261; 263-265 etc.).

The *Vañci tiṇai* denoted the warfare of a king who engaged in the territorial expansion. Tolkāppiyar never identified the *kāñci-t-tiṇai*, dealing with the fight defending one's territory. Nevertheless, in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, the poems on *kāñci-t-tiṇai* are found (71-3; 109-11; 281, 293; 336-54, 365-6). This trend shows the development of the *puṟam* theme, as a separate category.

The Uḻiñai was the warfare, besieging the fortress of an enemy king. The defenders who withstood the siege used to fight within the fortress and their battle was known as *nocci*. Though Tolkappiyar discussed both *uḻiñai* and *nocci* with elaborate details, he treated them under one caption *uḻiñai*. However, during the period of *Puṟanānūṟu*, they enjoyed independent status. Nocci was treated a distinct *puṟa-t-tiṇai* (109-111; 271.2; 299).

The *Tumpai* denoted a fierce and decisive fight between two mighty kings, with the main purpose of settling the prowess of one of them. In *Puṟanānūṟu*, there are poems on *tumpai* (62-3; 273-278; 283-4 etc.).

The warriors who engaged in the aforesaid warfare used to adorn their head and chest with the flowers of

veṭci, karantai, vañci, kāñci, uḻiñai, nocci and tumpai. Hence, the specific warfare was named after them.

Vākai is the result of fighting. It means victory. The victorious king and his soldiers wore the vākai garland. Vākai as a tiṇai was continued in the literary tradition of *Puṟanāṉūṟu.* The kings and heroes deemed it their aim of existence that they were sung by the poets. Hence, *Pāṭāṇtiṇai* became very popular. The poems under this category are very many in *Puṟanāṉūṟu.*

It is pertinent to note that the homogeneous themes and concepts of the aforesaid *tiṇais* have also become the subject matter of the poems of *Puṟam* literature.

Among the remaining *Puṟa-t-tiṇai, kāñci* dealt with the different types of transcience. Tolkāppiyar devoted a lengthy aphorism (Porul. 77) to enumerate the situations and contexts leading to impermanence. Though the concept of impermanence was accepted by all systems of Indian philosophy except the Cārvakas, no system labelled it by any name as done by Tolkappiyar who called it *Kāñci.* This section of Tolkāppiyam provides material for studying the philosophical attitude, prevalent in the Caṅkam period. In the *Puṟanāṉūṟu, kāñci* in the sense of transience became the subject-matter of some poems (72, 281, 336-56, 357 etc.).

During the period of Tolkāppiyam, the *purā-t-tiṇais* were sevenfold. Nevertheless, in the period of *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* some more *tiṇais* were identified and found a place in the literary creation. One of them is *Kai-k-kiḷai.* I.e. one-sided love, which was treated once under *Aka-t-tiṇai.* If the names of the hero or heroine involved in kaikkiḷai were specifically noted, then the poems were subsumed under Kaikkiḷai of puṟam division (*Puṟam.* 83-85). Similarly, *Peruntiṇai* which was

considered one type of *Akattiṇai* by Tolkāppiyar became a *puṟa-t-tiṇai*, since the names of the affected lovers were deliberately mentioned in the poems (*Puṟam*. 143-147).

The themes which were not accommodated under any one of the regular category of *puṟa-t-tiṇais* were brought under one separate *tiṇai*, known as *Potuviyal* (i.e. common tiṇai). In the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, there are poems on potuviyal (18, 24, 27-9; 185-195 etc.).

A comparative study of the puṟam categories, enlisted in Tolkāppiyam and elaborated in the poems of *Puṟanānūṟu* reveals the fact that the *Puṟam* poetics had undergone notable changes, indicating the social change and growth of the themes during the passage of time.

17. The Characters of Puṟam Literature

17.1. The Kings of Patiṟṟu-p-pattu

The chief persons, eulogized in the *Puṟam* poems are mostly historical. Their rare achievements, interest in arts and poetry, patronage, the natural beauty of their territory etc. became the main themes of adoration and exaltation.

In the anthology *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu*, each ten is devoted to delineate the martial and political activities of a particular Cēra king. Incidently, his queen also was praised for her chastity, modesty and virtues. According to Avvai. S. Duraisamy Pillai, the celebrated modern commentator of the text, the Cera kings belonged to two related lineages viz., utiyaṉ marapu and irumpoṟai marapu.

In the first group Imaya varampaṉ *Netuñcēralātan* comes first, to be followed by his brother-prince *Palyānai Celkeḻū kuṭṭuvaṉ*, whose achievements are adumbrated respectively in the second and third tens of *Patiṟṟu-p-*

pattu. Kaḷankāy kaṇṇi Nār muṭi Cēral, Kaṭal piṟakku ōṭṭiya Ceṉkuṭṭvaṉ and Āṭu kōṭpāṭṭu cēralātan who were extolled respectively in the successive tens of the text.

In the second group, the descendents of *Antuvañcēral irumpoṟai* are included. Among them three successive kings are noted. They are: 1. *Celvakkaṭuṅkō Vāḻiyātaṉ*, 2. *Takaṭūr eṟinta Peruñcēral irumpoṟai* and 3. *Ilañcēral irumpoṟai.* They became the chief characters respectively of the seventh, eighth and ninth tens of *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu.*

Since the first and last tens are lost beyond recovery, it is impossible to suggest the heroes of these two sections. It is essential to note that Dr. Panneerselvam of the Dharwad University was the first to identify the names of Cera kings of *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* with those of Pukalur Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. According to him, *Ko ātaṉ Cel-irumpoṟai, Peruṅkaṭuṅkōṉ* and *Katuṅkōṉ Ilaṅkaṭuṅkō Iḷaṅkō* of the inscriptions under reference respectively denoted *Celvakkatuṅkō Vāḻiyātaṉ* of the seventh decad, *Peruñcēral Irumpoṟai* of the eighth decad and *Ilañcēral Irumpoṟai* of the ninth decad of *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu. Thus, the historicity of Patiṟṟuppattu* was attested by the epigraphical evidences.

Each ten of the text contains a patikam, with sufficient information of the descent, achievements, regnal year and generosity of the king and also of the poet, who indited the poems and the amount of gift, received by him. The names of each poem, being the rare phrase used in it are also enumerated in the patikam, a prologue or epilogue which is deemed by many scholars to be an appendix of a later period, giving weight to the textual and traditional facts.

17.2. The Characters of *Puṟanāṉūṟu*

The poems of *Puṟanāṉūṟu* are compiled in a peculiar way. The first 86 poems are compiled to give prominence to the threefold kings of ancient Tamil nadu. First the poem on a Cēra was posited. Then followed in order the Pandya and Cola. Thus, it becomes clear that the enumeration order of the kings was Cera, Pandya and Cola. It was in conformity with the order of enumeration, made by Tolkāppiyar (Tol.Poruḷ.63). *Iḷampūranar*, the earliest commentator of Tol grasped it when be wrote: "வளவிய புகழையுடைய சேரன், பாண்டியன், சோழன் என்னும் மூவரது. . ." (தொல்.பொருள்.384 உரை). This order is strictly followed in the first 86 poems of *Puṟanāṉūṟu. Cēramāṉ Peruncōṟṟu utiyañ ceralātaṉ* finds the first slot, to be followed in sequence by *Pāṇṭiyaṇ Karuṅkai-y-oḷvāḷ perumpeyar Vaḻuti* and *Cōlaṉ Urava-p-pakrēriḷañcēṭ Ceṉṉi.*

The poems (87-181) have philanthropists and chieftains to be their heroes. Ethical and moral thoughts occupy the poems 182-195. Themes, related to gifts, expectation, postponement etc. are dominant in poems 196-211. The poems 212-256 are mainly elegies. Some heroic themes are prominent in poems 257-335. *Makaḷpāṟkāñci* was the main stuff of poems 336-354. It denoted the refusal of a heroic person of an ancient clan to give his daughter in marriage to a king who aspires to wed her. The remaining poems contain themes of miscellaneous features of *puṟattiṇai*, especially on impermanence, praise etc.

17.3. The Characters of Puṟam poems of Pattu-p-pāṭṭu

Cola *Karikālaṉ* was the hero of *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai.* Pandyan *Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ* becomes the central theme of *Maturai-k-kāñci*, the lengthiest of all poems in Caṅkam literature. *Nalliya-k-kōṭaṉ* and *Tontaimāṉ Iḷantiraiyaṉ*

were the heroes respectively of *Ciṟupāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai* and *Perumpāṇāṟṟ-p-paṭai*. *Naṉṉaṉcēy Naṉṉaṉ*, a chieftain was the hero of *Malaipaṭukaṭām*. Each poem runs majestically like a mini-epic or an Idyll throwing a flood of light on the social, cultural, commercial and political conditions of Caṅkam period. **It is to be borne in mind that though Cola and Pandya find a place in this collection, there is no poem on Cera.**

18. Devotional poems in Caṅkam literature

Though the ancients cared much for the perfection and enjoyment of earthly life, their aspiration to the attainment of spiritual perfection is also inferred. Their devotion to divinity was manifested at various levels. Some of them satisfied with the offering and prayer to local deities including mother goddess and also some animistic principles. However, the worship to Siva, Murukaṉ and Tirumāl was prominent as deduced from the invocatory poems, prefixed to the Caṅkam anthologies, the poems of *Paripātal* and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* and also some verses of other anthologies. A brief account on the subject is presented here under.

18.1. The invocatory poems

It seems that the invocatory poems on a particular god should have been composed during the times of compilation. *Pāratam Pāṭiya Peruntēvaṉār* wrote them to the anthologies *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu*, *Kuṟuntokai*, *Naṟṟiṇai*, *Akanāṉūṟu* and *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. For *Kuṟuntokai* and *Naṟṟiṇai*, the poems extolled respectively the glory of Murukaṇ and Tirumaḷ. For the remaining anthologies, the poems centered around Lord Siva. Having in mind their structural beauty, Peruntēvanār organized the metrical lines to keep the neatness of pattern of the poems in the concerned anthology.

As far as *Kalittokai* is concerned it is inferred that *Nallantuvaṉār* who compiled the *Kali* poems should have composed the invocatory poem in *Kali* metre in praise of Lord Siva.

18.2. The poems in Paripātal

In the anthology of Paripātal, six poems are devoted to Tirumāl and eight poems to Cevvēḷ (i.e. Murukaṉ). All the poems were set to music. Actually they were the musical compositions of Caṅkam period. They are lengthy poems with various limbs of other metrical compositions. Some of them are directly addressed to god, while some others praise the Lord in the third person.

The poems on Tirumāl contain the basic principles of *Pāñcarātra* system, the earliest known sect of Vaishnavism, popular in the South India, as per Dr. S.N. Das Gupta.[48] Also the dectrinces of the twin systems viz. the Sāmkhya and Yoga undoubtedly find a place in the Tirumāl poems.[49] Traces of *Pūrva Mimāmsa* are also noticed.[50] However, it is not *Niriśvara Mimāmsa* but *Śeśvara Mimāmsa*. *Paripātal* vehementally condemns the Lokayatas.[51] It is quite interesting to record that the same poet who sang Tirumāḷ, also praised Murukaṉ in a subsequent poem (3, 4, 5). There was no religious animosity.

The poems on Murukaṉ are quite interesting. They are not loaded with heavy philosophical thoughts. The amorous sports of Murukaṉ with his two consorts, the natural description of *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam*, the sports of young lovers, the upsurge of devotees to offer worship at His shrine, the art-galleries with message to the onlookers, the aspiration of the people to be blessed with all benefits, required for a happy life on earth etc. are

some of the salient features. *Spirituation and materiation were coupled with each other in the portrayal of life.*

It is pertinent to note that Tirumaliruñcōlaimalai and *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam* flourished as the famous abodes respectively of Tirumāl and Murukaṉ, attracting devotees in large gatherings. These two spots exist in Pandyadeśa. Hence, Paripātal, being a product of Pandyadeśa was very particular in the glorification of local shrines.

18.3. Tirimurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai

The first poem in Pattuppāttu is *Tirimurukāṟṟuppaṭai*. It is authored by Nakkīrar, who also indited the seventh idyll *Netunalvāṭai* in the same collection. The controversy over the authorship of the two poems under reference was discussed elsewhere by the present author and settled that they were composed by one and the same author.[52] **According to A.L. Basham, Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai is the first devotional poem in the whole of Indian literature.**[53]

Āṟṟuppaṭai is a guide literature, very popular in the Caṅkam period. Normally the bard, songster or poet who received bounty after paying accolades on the patron meets his colleague on the way and shows him the ways and means to get the same benefit. But, in the case of *Tirimurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, the poet who received the grace of Muruka guides the aspirant to visit the Lord in his magnificient abodes at *Tirucīralaivāy*, *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam*, *Tiruvāvinaṉkuṭi* (Pazhani), *Tiruvērakam*, *Kuṉṟutōṟāṭal* and *Palamutir Cōlai* and to adore him whole heartedly to attain all benefits including beatitude.. This poem is more or less in the form of a travelogue. The natural beauty, the devotion of the innocent hill men who offered toddy and goat flesh to the Lord in their worship, the prayer

of the ascetics, the activities of the local priest *Vēlāṉ*, the limitless compassion of Lord Murukaṉ etc. are the main themes of the poem.

The aforesaid poems are definitely the earliest specimens of Tamil devotional literature. A comparative study on the substance, structure, diction, language and style of these poems with those of the Nāyaṉmārs and Āḻvārs of Pallava period would definitely lead one to conclude that the former precede the latter at least by three or four centuries.

19. The Literary genres of Puṟam poems

A detailed study on the genre of *Puṟam* is essential to identify the origin and growth of literary types. It may be based on content, melody, structure, metre etc. In the poems of *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu*, the melody becomes the yardstick to isolate the genre: The poems with *–oḻukuvaṇṇam* (i.e. the melody flowing like a river) may be grouped under one caption (e.g. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, etc.). In some poems *Coṟcīr Vaṇṇam* also intermingled (e.g. 14, 19).

On the basis of Tiṇai, the poems in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* may be grouped and studied. Thus, the poems on *Veṭci, Karantai, Vañci, Kāñci, Tumpai, Vākai, Pāṭāṇ* etc., may be assembled, and each group deserves to be labelled as a distinct genre.

The tens in *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* fulfil the requirement of the genre viz., decad. The fourth ten of this anthology was composed in anaphoric structure, (அந்தாதி) a separate genre which enjoyed popularity in the Pallava and Cola periods. *Āṟṟu-p-paṭai*, another favorite genre with the Caṅkam poets is predominantly found in Pattu-p-pāttu (five poems). In *Patiṟṟu-p-pattai, Viṟali āṟṟu-p-paṭai* (the guidance of danceuse) is dominant (40, 49, 57,

60, 78, 87). In *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Pāṉaṟṟuppaṭai* (68-70; 138, 141, 155, 180), *Pulavarāṟṟuppaṭai* (48-49; 141) and *Viṟaliyāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (64, 103, 105, 133) are significant genres. The description of a person from head to foot was treated one type of literary creation. In the later period, it was known an *kesādipāda.* An early specimen for this genre is enshrined in *Porunārāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (25-47; also see *Cirupāṇ* 13-32).

Each *tuṟai* of a tiṇai and its homogeneous aspects should be grouped under one title deserving for a distinct genre. The rudiments for many later genres such as *Piḷḷai-t-tamiḻ. Ulā, Kalampakam, Paḷḷieḻucci, Ūcal, Ulakkai-p-pāṭṭu, Kuṟam* etc., are found in the Caṅkam poems.

So far, sufficient attention has been paid on the various aspects of *Akam* and *Puṟam* poems of Caṅkam period. Now, let us pass on to discuss on the relationship between Caṅkam literature and *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the magnum opus of Tamil wisdom.

20. Caṅkam tradition and Tirukkuṟaḷ

It is the considered opinion of many scholars that *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was a product of Caṅkam period. Its author Tiruvaḷḷuvar had erudition not only in the Tamil classics and tradition but also in Pāli and Sanskrit. He was well versed in the state-craft and polity. He devised the entire work into three sections known as *Aṟattu-p-pāl, Poruṭpāl and Iṉpattu-p-pāl,* Each of them contains many chapters on important virtues and themes. Each chapter invariably consists of ten couplets. Thus in the whole of Tirukkuṉaḷ, there are 133 chapters and 1330 couplets. In the introductory portion i.e. *pāyiram*, chapters on god, rain, ascetic and importance of virtue are found. In the following chapters of *Aṟattu-p-pāl* the ethics of household life, the norms of ascetic life are enunciated. The

power of destiny was stressed in one chapter. In the *Poruṭpāl*, definition and details of the essential elements of a state viz., the king being the head of the state, cabinet, fortress and revenue, territory, defence, ally and citizens are elaborately presented. In the *Iṉpattuppāl* the concept of *aintiṇai* finds excellent literary expression.

The classification of poetical themes into *Akam and Puṟam* was the very ancient literary tradition. However, Tolkāppiyar himself envisaged that all themes would be accommodated under *aṟam, porul and iṉpam.*[54] In the Caṅkam poems also, this sort of classification is noticed.[55] Composing a cluster of ten poems on a particular theme was also familiar with the Caṅkam poets, as witnessed by the decades in *Patiṟṟuppattu* and *Ainkuṟunūṟu*. Thus, *Tirukkuṟaḷ* fulfils all the relevant requirements of the Caṅkam literary tradition.

The third section of the text i.e. *Iṉpattu-p-pāl* has been subdivided into two divisions viz., *Kaḷavu* and *Kaṟpu* in conformity with the Akam tradition, as promulgated by Tolkāppiyar and practised by the Caṅkam poets. Under *Kaḷavu*, there are seven chapters (109-115). Eighteen chapters elaborately portrayed the life of *Kaṟpu* (116-133). In conformity with the Caṅkam Akam convention, the discourses (கூற்று) of hero, heroine, confidante, companion, step-mother and others are artistically and aesthetically made.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar was well conversant with the concept of *Puṟam* tradition. Some illustrations may be cited.

1. The hero, who lost his life in the fight of retrieving the cattle from the hold of the enemy, was honoured through the installation of a heroic stone with the inscription of his achievements in the war-front. The theme of such a hero has been

enumerated by Tolkāppiyar under *Veṭci tiṇai* (Porul.63). However, it has been identified to belong to Karantai tiṇai or Potuviyal in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. In *Tirukkuṟal*, there is a couplet, associated with this theme. A hero admonishes the inimical warriors not to stand before his master in the war front, since those who stood before became a prey to his javelin and heroic stones were erected in their honour (771). *Parimēlaḻakar* identified the theme to belong to *Neṭumoḻivañci*, which indicated the boasting of a warrior against the enemies. This theme comes under *Vañci-t-tiṇai*.

2. *Taḻiñci* is a heroic theme, tempered with mercy. It has been included in the *Vañci-t-tiṇai* (Tol.Poruḷ.65), it denotes the merciful attitude of the heroes shown towards the fallen soldiers on the battle-field. The war-ethics demanded mercy to the afflicted and wounded warriors, and to those, deprived of weapons. It was not considered a heroic activity to kill a soldier without a weapon or one fallen on the ground. The war-tradition held that in such circumstances, the affected heroes whether they belonged to their own side or the opposite side, should be provided with first aid. Thus, the noble idea of heroism consisted in the adherence of ethical norms even in the battle-field. The couplet 773 was composed in the theme of *Taḻiñci*.

3. *Nūḻilāṭṭu* is a theme of *Tumpai-t-tiṇai*. It denotes the extraordinary victory of a hero who in his own capacity hurled his sword against the enemies who were rendered to pieces like the dusts of the earth. In *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, a couplet is found signifying this theme. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* made the theme more heroic and splendour through his creative skill and imaginative faculty. A hero, who discharged the

javelin in his hand against the on-coming tusker in the battle-field, rejoiced to pluck our a fresh javelin, planted on his chest by his enemy, to attack another elephant which hastens against him (774).

These are sufficient illustrations to conclude that *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* was cognizant of the *Akam* and *Puṟam* tradition of Tol. Poetics and Caṅkam convention and created his treatise in conformity with them.

20.1. Some changes in the thought-pattern

Thiruvaḷḷuvar, as a moralist expected perfection in all walks of life. Thought he lived in the Caṅkam society, he never tolerated some of the practices and customs of the people. Hence, he revolted against them. Some instances may be quoted.[56]

1. The institution of prostitution was prevalent in the Caṅkam society. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* wrote a chapter (92) on the evils of prostitution and condemned it for the physical and mental wellbeing of the society. In his akam poem, he criticized the immoral behaviour of the hero with a harlot and called him a *parattaṉ* (1311), a derogatory usage to denote a male-prostitute, i.e. a man indulging in extramarital and immoral sexual contact with women. It is the masculine form of *parattai*, a prostitute.
2. The Caṅkam society practised meat-eating and drinking toddy, liquor and other intoxicating drinks. Nevertheless, Tiruvaḷḷuvar aspired to correct the people by advocating vegetarianism and avoidance of drinking. He wrote chapters on *Pulālmaṟuttal* (-avoidance of meat-eating) *Kollāmai* (-avoidance of killing) and *Kaḷ-ḷ-uṇṇāmai* (avoidance of drinking toddy).

3. Gambling was a favourite pastime with the kings and people of Caṅkam period. Exposing the evils and ills of this harmful play, he devoted a full chapter "சூது" (-gambling) and exhorted the people to abandon the habit and to adopt the righteous way of life.
4. Some kings of the Caṅkam period performed the Vedic sacrifices. *Tiruvalluvar with full of compassion to living beings stoutly protested them and advised that it was better not to kill an animal and eat its flesh than performing one thousand sacrifices* (259).
5. The classification of people into *mēlōr* (-the High) and *kīḻōr* (-the Low) is noted in *Tolkāppiyam* (poruḷ.142). In *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, "வேற்றுமை தெரிந்த நாற்பால்," "கீழ்ப்பால்" and "மேற்பால்" (183. 8-10) denoted the fourfold divisions of society. However, *Tiruvaḷḷuvar strongly advocated social quality (972). He ridiculed the priestly supremacy and hypocrisy* (134).

Tiruvaḷḷuvar's main objective of writing Tirukkuṟaḷ was to correct the society and to make the pople lead strictly virtuous course of life. Since the early Tamil-Brahmi epigraphs, *Maturaikkāñci* and some poems of otherCaṅkam literature revealed the popularity of Buddhism and Jainisum in Tamilnadu even before the advent of Christ, it is presumed that Tiruvaḷḷuvar, living in the Caṅkam society with his knowledge in the Tripiṭakas condemned the social evils and exorted people to live an ethical life.

20.2. Significance of Muppāl

One of the epithets denoting Tirukkuṟaḷ was *Mu-p-pāl*. Here, the word pāl denotes division. Since the text consists of three divisions viz., *aṟam, poruḷ* and *iṉpam*, it rightly gets the name *Mu-p-pāl*. This name stands

comparison with the Sanskrit traiditon of Trivarga, which consists of three component parts viz., *dharma, artha and kāma*. It seems to be a Pan-Indian concept since this finds a place in almost all Indian literary works. Though there are vital differences in the concepts of *aṟam, poruḷ* and *iṉpam* of the Tamil tradition and those of dharma, artha and kāma of the Sanskrit tradition, their chief objective remains the same i.e. to lead the people to complete perfection and harmony.

It is also essential to record that in Sanskrit one may come across with *dharma sāstra, artha sāstra* and *kāma sāstra* individuably. However, in the Tamil ethical text, all the there with the distinctive native features, reflecting the Tamil wisdom are conspicuously found with literary estbellishment.

For the maintenance of healthy life food, dress, medicine and shelter are essential. These contribute to the *physical perfection*. To achieve this end, *poruḷ* (-wealth) is indispensable. For the *emotional perfection*, the fulfillment of sensuous joy is essential. Hence, *iṉpam* (-pleasure) is very important. Man should develop the sense to discriminate between right and wrong, good and bad, virtue and vice. This could be possible only by adherence to *Aṟam* (virtues). The ethical life leads to *mental perfection*. Thus, for the achievement of mental, physical and emotional perfection *aṟam, poruḷ* and *iṉpam* as a whole are considered to be very essential.[57]

Only in the Pallava period the concept of Vītu i.e. moksa became very popular. It was meant for *spiritual perfection*. Thus, the concept of Nārpāl equivalent to Caturvarga of the Sanskrit tradition came into vogue only in the Pallavar period. As far as the society of the Caṅkam literature and *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was concerned, the concept of *Muppāl* was considered to be sufficient.

21. Conclusion

As a result of the study carried out in the fore-going pages, the following points deserve to be reckoned.

1. The historicity of Caṅkam classics has been established on the internal and external evidences.
2. The dichotomy of *Akam* and *Puṟam* indicated the indigenous origin of Tamil literary tradition.
3. The bumber crop of *Akam* poems speaks volumes to the greatness of ideal love in the culture of ancient Tamils.
4. The themes and characters of *Aintiṇai* are peculiar to the Caṅkam literary tradition.
5. The trends of the poems of *Kaikkiḷai* and *Peruntiṇai* have been identified.
6. Fluctuation in the adherence to the legislation of literature indicates the privilege of the Caṅkam poets who were free birds to project their creative skill and originality.
7. Anonymity of characters in the *Akam* poems was a hallmark, denoting the impersonal and universal character.
8. The social ethics and values are sufficiently enshrined in the *Akam* poems.
9. Historical elements in the *Akam* and *Puṟam* poems throw much light on the cultural, commercial and political contacts of the Tamils with outside world.
10. *Uḷḷuṟai, iṟaicci, meyppāṭu* and other literary devices are fully operative in the *Akam* poems to provide effective and aesthetic expressions.
11. Comparing a city to a beautiful damsel is something unique in the *Akam* poems.
12. The Caṅkam poems are replete with rhetorical embellishments and descriptions of nature.
13. The Tamil metres are totally different from the Sanskrit metres.

14. Folk-motifs and oral traditions entered into the literary tradition of Cańkam poems.
15. The beliefs and rituals of the people are incidently noted in the Cańkam literature.
16. In the Cańkam literature, many genres are noticed. They formed the source for the germination of many prabandhas of Pallava and Cola periods.
17. The themes and characters of *Puṟam* literature are original to Tamil classical tradition.
18. The devotional poems of Cańkam classics are the pioneers of the *Tirumuṟais* and *Nālāyiram* of the Pallava period.
19. Though *Tirukkuṟaḷ* was in conformity with the Cańkam classical tradition, its author *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* introduced some innovative and fresh thoughts which were revolutionary.
20. The significance of *mu-p-pāl* consists in its dynamic guidance for the attainment of human perfection.

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This volume presents the real picture of the Tamil classics, substantiated by valid evidences. Professor Kandaswamy has also not spared a few Tamil scholars whose mistaken views had led to some misguided foreign findings. He has also firmly estab-lished the antiquity and originality of the Tamil classics.